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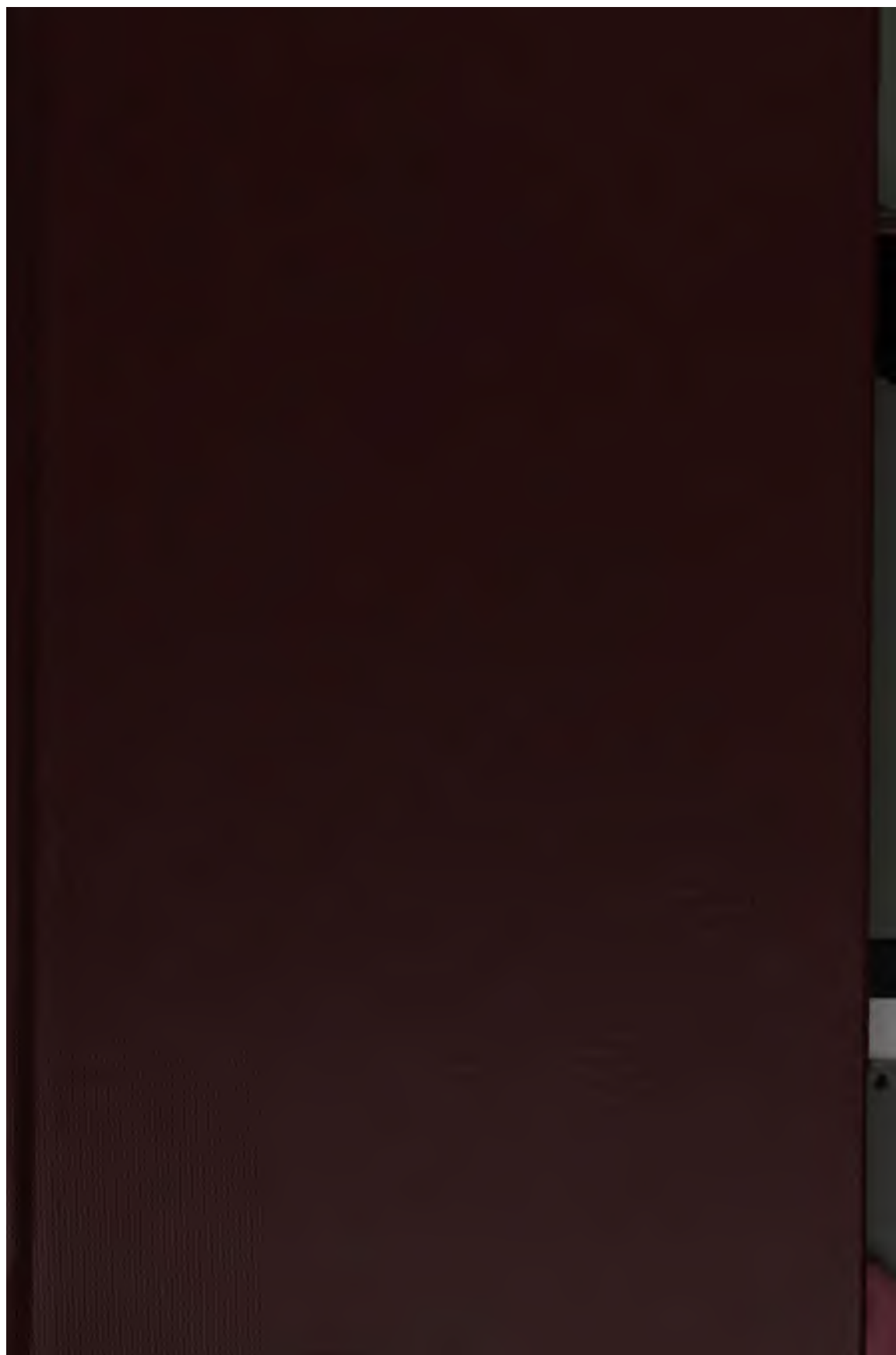
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A

“YEAR OF REVOLUTION,”

FROM

A JOURNAL KEPT IN PARIS IN 1848.

BY

THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, K.G.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

²
VOL. II

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS.

1857.

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CONTENTS.

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. XIII.

Proposed "Mobilization" of National Guards. — M. Bastide's Explanation. — Project of the Constitution. — Effect of Revolution on the Working Classes. — Scene at the Théâtre Gymnase. — General Cavaignac and the Banquet "La Fraternisation des Travailleurs." — Victor Hugo in the Assembly. — M. Caussidière's proposed Policy towards England, how received in the Assembly. — Letter of Remonstrance addressed to M. Bastide. — General Outbreak. — The Insurgents erect Barricades. — The Assembly decide on giving to General Cavaignac all the Executive Powers. — Progress of the Rioters. — Loss of Life in attacking the Barricades. — The "Moniteur" charges neighbouring Nations with inciting the Rioters to Violence. — Remonstrances made by the English Minister Page 1

CHAP. XIV.

Unsatisfactory Rumours. — Assassination of General Bréa. — Death of the Archbishop of Paris. — Aspersions against the English. — Correspondence with M. Bastide. — Difficulties attending the Formation of a Government. — Interview with M. Bastide. — Proceedings at the Assembly. — The "Moniteur's" Version of the Death of the Archbishop of Paris. — Barbarities committed by the Insurgents. — Desperate Defence of a Barricade on the Boulevards. — The New Ministry 49

CHAP. XV.

Correspondence with M. Bastide. — Death of the Child-hero Martin. — Preparations for a Renewal of the Fight. — Gallantry and Discipline of the Garde Mobile. — Obsequies of the Troops and National Guards. — Retirement of M. Carnot. — Funeral of the Archbishop. — Arrest of Colonel Constantin. — Feelings of Cavaignac towards Lamoricière and Changarnier. — Anniversary of the Taking of the Bastille. — Programme from the Club of Representatives. — Discussion on the Affairs of Italy. — Appeal to M. Goudchaux in behalf of English Contributors to the Caisse d'Épargne Page 81

CHAP. XVI.

Changes in the Administration. — Louis Napoleon again declines Office. — The Law against Clubs. — M. Flocon the Champion of "Les Femmes." — M. Thiers in the Assembly. — Madame C. and the Irish Conspirators. — M. Proudhon's Proposition. — Government Persecution of M. Émile Girardin. — Suppression of the Journals suggested. — General Cavaignac Dictator. — Report of Committee of Inquiry into the Events of May and June. — Continued Diminution of Financial Resources. — Tax on Loans. — Charge against Ministers of Abuse of the Public Funds. — Their Replies. — Louis Blanc's Explanation. — Louis Blanc and his Dupes. — The "National" on the Constitution and Social Condition of England. — Prohibition against the Journals removed. — The Government and the Vacancies in the Assembly. — Future Prospects of France. — Comparative Strength of the two great Parties. — Great Distinction in their Views. — Louis Napoleon and the Dynasty of July - - 119

CHAP. XVII.

"Mission Spéciale" to the French Government. — Intervention in Italy. — Improbability of the Continuance of the Republic. — Cavaignac's "Explanation" on the Italian Question. — Discussion on Report of Executive Commission of Inquiry

into the Insurrection. — Speech of M. Louis Blanc. — Report of M. Trélat. — Administration of General Cavaignac. — State of Siege to be maintained. — General Cavaignac's Indiscretion in the Tribune. — His Address. — Lamartine's Defence of his own Policy. — His leading Characteristics. — Critical Position of Cavaignac. — The Republic in danger. — Decision of the Assembly, that it can prolong its own Existence to pass Organic Laws. — Estimated Effect of Foreign War on the Duration of the Republic. — The Man of the Hour Page 161

CHAP. XVIII.

Dinner to Cavaignac and the Corps Diplomatique. — Debate on the Amendments upon the Eighth Article of the Constitution. — M. Thiers' Definition of his political Position. — M. Goudchaux on the Duties of Humanity. — Results of the Elections. — Count Molé elected a Member of the Assembly. — Deputation to Cavaignac. — Admission of Louis Napoleon. — His first Speech. — Discussion upon the "Impôt Progressif." — Question of one or two Chambers. — Speeches of M.M. Odilon-Barrot and Lamartine. — Relative Positions of Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon. — The President to be elected by Universal Suffrage. — Discussion on Democratic Banquets at Toulouse, &c. — Changes in the Bureaux of the National Assembly. — Division on the Question of Armed Intervention. — Embarrassing Position of Cavaignac. — Different Modes of Election discussed. — Amendment to exclude Members of any previous reigning Family - 201

CHAP. XIX.

Louis Napoleon in the Assembly. — M. Thouret's discourteous Remark upon his Address. — The Government determine to proceed to the Election of a President. — Attempt to assassinate M. Bastide. — Ministerial Changes. — Special Commission on the Continuance of the State of Siege. — Letter of Prefect Ducoux. — Cavaignac's Honesty of Purpose. — The Country Anti-Republican. — Termination of

the State of Siege voted by the Assembly. — Discussion on the "Remplacement Militaire." — M. Thiers' Eulogium on the English Army. — Weakness of Cavaignac's Government. — Increase of Secret Societies. — Decree for restoring the Property of the Orleans Family. — Tumult in the Assembly. — Personal Attacks on Louis Napoleon. — The Candidates for the Presidency. — Position of the Moderate Party. — Louis Napoleon the Coming Man. — His probable Course. — Cavaignac's Defeat assured. — Motion for Exclusion of Bonaparte Family renewed. — The Constitution voted. — Movement in the Provinces in favour of Napoleon Page 241

CHAP. XX.

Reduction of the Army announced in the Assembly. — Address from General Cavaignac to the Civil and Military Authorities. — Electioneering Tactics. — The Fête of the Constitution. — Indisposition of M. Bastide. — Réunion at the Embassy. — Reasons for the Moderate Party giving their Support to Louis Napoleon. — MM. Thiers, Odilon-Barrot, Marshal Bugeaud, &c., favour Louis Napoleon. — Split between the Mountain and the Socialists. — Violence of the Clubs. — Reaction in favour of England. — Remarks on the Re-election of the President of the Assembly. — Strictures on the Assembly. — Contest in the Assembly between Cavaignac and the Members of the late Executive Commission. — Abuse of Government Influence in the Elections. — Question of the Suppression of the Clubs. — Cavaignac's Defence. — Startling News from Rome - 285

CHAP. XXI.

The Pope's Application to the French Government for Protection. — Preparations for the Despatch of Troops to Civita Vecchia. — Conversation with General Cavaignac on the Presidential Election. — Remonstrance with the Government on the Character of the Expedition to Rome. — The Expedition an Electioneering Stratagem. — Instructions to M. De Courcelles. — Probable Effect of the Expedition on

European Politics. — Speech of M. Montalembert. — M. Jules Favre on the Temporal Authority of the Pope. — Flight of the Pope. — Thanks of the Apostolic Nuncio to the Assembly. — Reply of the President. — Supposed Desire of the Pope to come to France. — His Letter to Cavaignac. — Withdrawal of the proposed Decree for “*Les Récompenses Nationales*.” — Unscrupulous Use of Government Influence to secure the Election of President Page 327

APPENDIX.

Constitution of Nov. 7. 1848 - - - 389

ERRATA IN VOL II

- Page 18, line 1 of note, for "English merchants," read "English residents"
- " 64, last line, for "concerted" read "conceited"
 - " 96, line 4 from bottom, for "formed" read "found"
 - " 160, line 14, for "natural" read "national"
 - " 179, last line, *dele* "was"
 - " 185, line 5 from bottom, for "Doucoux" read "Ducoux"

JOURNAL

OF

A YEAR OF REVOLUTION.

CHAP. XIII.

PROPOSED "MOBILIZATION" OF NATIONAL GUARDS. — M. BASTIDE'S EXPLANATION. — PROJECT OF THE CONSTITUTION. — EFFECT OF REVOLUTION ON THE WORKING CLASSES. — SCENE AT THE THÉÂTRE GYMNASÉ. — GENERAL CAVAIGNAC AND THE BANQUET "LA FRATERNISATION DES TRAVAILLEURS." — VICTOR HUGO IN THE ASSEMBLY. — M. CAUSSIDIÈRE'S PROPOSED POLICY TOWARDS ENGLAND, HOW RECEIVED IN THE ASSEMBLY. — LETTER OF REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO M. BASTIDE. — GENERAL OUTBREAK. — THE INSURGENTS ERECT BARRICADES. — THE ASSEMBLY DECIDE ON GIVING TO GENERAL CAVAIGNAC ALL THE EXECUTIVE POWERS. — PROGRESS OF THE RIOTERS. — LOSS OF LIFE IN ATTACKING THE BARRICADES. — THE "MONITEUR" CHARGES NEIGHBOURING NATIONS WITH INCITING THE RIOTERS TO VIOLENCE. — REMONSTRANCES MADE BY THE ENGLISH MINISTER.

June 18.

MUCH of the time of the Assembly was yesterday occupied with questions on the subject of the recent events in the Département de la Creuse, where it appears that an organised, and, hitherto, successful

opposition to the payment of the additional forty-eight centimes has been attended with loss of life. In the Department of the Upper Garonne, and some others, the same opposition has begun to manifest itself.

A rhapsody upon Socialism, with which M. Pierre Leroux had accompanied these questions, had made the Assembly so ready to see a possible remedy for the evils of the country in any proposal one degree less absurd, that they received with favour, as practical, the announcement on the part of the Government, from M. Flocon, that by the erection of schools for agricultural science, and the establishment of agricultural colonies in France, the proportion of the population might be completely changed; all that was now superabundant in the towns, where it had been collected by an excessive spirit of speculation, might be returned to the fields, misery thus averted, and peace and order restored. M. Flocon, before he became Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, exercised certain modes of gaining a livelihood which flourish more in that corrupt town population, which his plan seeks to disperse, than in the simplicity of country life; but he attributes all present evil to want of a school for agriculture, which, he says, he should have frequented himself had it existed. It is unnecessary to add that the Assembly did not really believe that the urgent evils of the moment could be averted by the slow process of agricultural instruction, or by the

gradual fertilization of waste land; but they accepted the outline of the proposal, as a pretence for voting more money for the express purpose of removing immediately from Paris those formidable hordes composing the Ateliers Nationaux, who daily threaten the public tranquillity. It is said that they still amount to 120,000 men, amongst whom are 2000 liberated convicts.

It did not, of course, enter into the republican spirit of M. Flocon's address to attribute any part of the defeceive state of the agriculture of France to the excessive subdivision of property, which, by preventing the application of capital to its cultivation, is one of the principal causes of the acknowledged deficiency.

June 19.

It would seem as if M. Bastide's time, like that of his predecessor, M. Lamartine, would be principally engrossed with attempts to explain the mistakes and to excuse the indiscretions of his colleagues. In the "Moniteur" of Saturday last, there appeared a proposed decree from the Minister of the Interior, for the "mobilization" of 300,000 National Guards throughout France. M. Recurt had not read aloud his written explanation of the motives of this decree. I was not aware of its

nature till it was published in the "Moniteur" as if it had been part of his speech. This phrase at once excited my attention: "La Commission Exécutive conserve la ferme espérance du maintien de la paix. Cependant la France ne saurait assister sans prévoyance à des remaniements de territoires. Elle ne pouvait tolérer qu'un accroissement de la puissance de ses voisins, sans compensation pour elle, affaiblît sa propre puissance." I called upon M. Bastide yesterday morning, to ask him to give me some personal explanation of its meaning; but he had gone for the day into the country: he however called upon me this morning, and I pointed it out to him, remarking that this appeared to me rather an unusual method of announcing a novel theory; that these expressions would, right or wrong, be supposed to indicate hostile intentions on the part of the writer; that hitherto we had heard of the sympathies of people and the diffusion of ideas as the only weapons of the Republic; that the cause of Italian independence had seemed to have their best wishes. The Italian people had justly been admitted to be the best judges of the most appropriate method of securing that independence; and yet, at a critical moment of the struggle, France seemed inclined to descend from the high ground she had professed to take, and to ask for compensation for some supposed injury to her material interests: such appeared to me to be the sense of these words, unless he could otherwise explain

them. M. Bastide admitted that the paragraph was an unfortunate one; he did not know how he could place a different explanation on the words of the Minister of the Interior than that which I had done; but no such project had been entertained in council, and certainly there was no idea of taking anything by force of arms; but it was true they might feel, when Piedmont was no longer a second-rate power, but had monopolised the greater part of Italy, that France could hardly view with the same indifference her entrance into her very centre, within forty miles of Lyons; but he repeated that he disclaimed for this publication (in which he was not concerned) any intention, beyond a general warning; yet if other powers, parties to the treaty of Vienna, were helping themselves at pleasure to the territories of their neighbours, there ought to be some previous consultation with those who had not begun by desiring anything for themselves. He did not think it would have been unreasonable if France had asked for some augmentation to her frontier on the side of Savoy or of Nice; but he again disclaimed any intention of putting such a feeling into the shape of a demand, still less of raising an army to enforce it; he should certainly have conferred first with me, if his ideas had been fixed on this subject, as he wished that we should understand each other as to Italian affairs. I said, I was very glad to hear the words of the report had been inconsiderately used; as the expression "compen-

sation," above all, seemed like bargaining the terms, not of assistance but of permission, to Italy to recover her independence in her own way. I could not see that the assertion was true either, that France could be in any respect weaker, in consequence of what had happened. What Sardinia had gained had, for the most part, been taken from Austria, whom, in an European war, France had been more accustomed to view with jealousy than Sardinia; to give an Italian direction to the councils of the King of Sardinia was not to endanger the interests of France. That however we might regret the original violation of treaties on the part of Charles Albert, he seemed now to have been called to extend his dominions by that popular suffrage which was the foundation of all things in the French Republic. I said, I did not think it necessary to remark upon his casual allusion to Savoy, as he had disclaimed any hostile intention, but that when once that principle of compensation was put in practice, many other interests were compromised. Switzerland would hardly view with indifference, as it might affect her neutrality, so much more of her frontier in the hands of France. I have only noted down this incidental observation, which I let fall in conversation, in consequence of the remark which it gave rise to from M. Bastide, to the effect that he thought France ought to be perfectly easy if Savoy was added to Switzerland as an additional canton. I said that, of course,

I could not give any opinion of the nature of a change when I did not anticipate the case could arise for making any; I had only spoken confidentially my own feelings, from wishing to have some explanation as to what had struck me as rather a menacing announcement.

M. Bastide said, as long as he was in office, there would be no such intention on his part; that he thought Charles Albert ought to have consulted both France and England before he had accepted the iron crown; and that there were proceedings in parts of Germany too, particularly in Prussia, with reference to Posen, which he considered at variance with the Treaties of 1815; and he thought it might be salutary, both there and in Italy, that there should be some warning (*avertissement*) that France was alive to what was going on. M. Bastide admitted however, with me, that the form in which this had been published was not fortunate.

I have just returned from hearing the project of the constitution read to the Assembly by M. Armand Marrast, the reporter. As it consists of 140 Articles, and was not very distinctly read, it is not easy at once to collect and retain its contents, and I will postpone my own opinion till confirmed by a perusal of to-morrow's "Moniteur."

The project was heard in silence, and the Assembly adjourned immediately afterwards to talk it over; and I left them still conversing amongst

themselves on the floor of the Assembly, and met no one, on coming out, who could give me any certain estimate of the first impression.

Previous to the *lecture* of the constitution, there had been a very curious renewal of the fight between M. de Falloux and M. Trelat as to the *Ateliers Nationaux*; but I must postpone till to-morrow morning my account on the subject, which will be more complete after I have seen the report in the "*Moniteur*," as my recollection of the terms used has been somewhat distracted by the more permanent interest excited by the articles of the constitution.

June 20.

The Report of the Commission appointed the other day, upon the motion of M. de Falloux, to examine into the condition of *les Ateliers Nationaux*, was presented yesterday.

It admits that the vote of three millions of francs to meet the immediate necessities of that institution should be granted, but that no farther advance should ever be made of more than one million at a time; and it further suggests that the functions of the existing Commission should be continued as long as the Assembly thought their active superintendence necessary.

It is not surprising that poor M. Trelat com-

menced by getting into another scrape, though it was so important that not one irritating word should be said with reference to upwards of 100,000 men, known to be ready for an outbreak at the very moment they were about to see that none of the brilliant promises made could be realised, and that even their bare subsistence must be withdrawn. The minister, with the appearance, but I really think not with the intention, of currying favour with this body at the expense of others of his colleagues in the Assembly, said he could not bear to hear them, only too often, spoken of as "*des malfaiteurs*." This naturally excited a general disclaimer; and to this the minister rejoined that he could not forget what he had heard only three days ago on the Commission. Upon which M. de Falloux, the reporter of the Commission, in the name of his colleagues and himself: —

"Personne dans la Commission, personne dans cette Assemblée n'a pu prononcer le mot de *malfaiteurs*, parce que le sentiment qu'il exprime n'est dans le cœur, et ne peut se trouver dans la bouche de personne. Personne ne vous reconnaît le droit de vous porter ici le défenseur exclusif de l'humanité." To this the minister made no direct reply, but evaded the question by stating the workmen required to be treated with strict justice, because they had been deceived; and upon being asked, "*par qui? par qui?*" he made the following extraordinary statement, which I copy from the "*Moniteur*" of this

morning, as to the misdeeds of his fellow-labourers in the cause of revolution :—" Immédiatement après la révolution de Février, à la grande surprise, et au grand chagrin de ceux qui, toute leur vie, avaient autrement compris le cours des révolutions, la haine fut jetée au fond de tous les cœurs ; à tel point que les mots sacrés de liberté, égalité, fraternité, purent sembler depuis ce moment des expressions menteuses.—Je le dis, *moi* qui avais beaucoup vu les ouvriers, qui les avais toujours beaucoup aimés—je ne les ai pas reconnus,—je ne les en accuse pas, j'en accuse les influences erronées à l'aides desquelles on les a égarés."

Can anything contain a more distinct admission that the revolution which found the workmen of Paris contented in their proper sphere, had been, by treating them like spoilt children, the cause of that change in their character which makes every one now dread the excesses of which they may soon be guilty ? In conclusion, the unhappy minister having said that he trusted he had not hurt any one, but that he could not repent what he had said as having passed in the Commission, "*parce que on n'a jamais tort quand on dit la vérité,*" M. de Falloux returned to the tribune, and concluded the discussion with these words :— "*Lorsque l'honorable M. Trelat a dit 'je n'ai pas à me repentir d'avoir dit ce qui s'est passé dans la Commission,' j'ai dit, et j'ai dû lui dire, mais vous avez donné à entendre ce qui ne s'y est pas passé. Or je ne puis laisser à aucun titre,*

ni nous, ni la Commission, sous le coup de cette imputation ; et je dois ajouter, que quoiqu'on a dit dans le sein de la Commission, il n'y a pas eu une seule expression qui ait autorisé celle que M. le ministre a prononcée, en notre nom."

The consideration of the decree is fixed for tomorrow; and it is understood that, with the delay of a very few days, the enlistment in the army of all the workmen between eighteen and twenty-five years of age is to be carried into effect.

As the vote for the admission of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte seemed to have removed the motive or the pretext for the threatening *attroupements* in the central boulevards, I went the next night, with Lady N., to the Gymnase Theatre. The performances there are wont to be better suited to quieter times. The exquisite truth with which the domestic interests of social life are delineated, can always absorb the attention sufficiently to make one, in the pleasure of the performance, forget any petty or personal annoyances ; and, on this occasion, it had seemed to obliterate, for the moment, the graver anxieties of the times. But in the midst of general attention to the business of the scene, there was heard without, at the very doors, a wild cry of a multitude in which were the mingled sounds of terror and of rage. This was immediately followed by the ringing clatter of a heavy body of cavalry "*à pas de charge.*" Some of the audience immediately rushed out, and such

was the first impulse of Lady N.; but she who, in all the trials of the last five months, has uniformly shown coolness and courage, readily adopted my opinion that nowhere, at such a moment, could one be safer than in a crowded theatre. It seemed the last place into which an excited mob were likely to attempt to force an entrance. Some of the audience slunk away by degrees; but when we went out, near the conclusion of the performance, the great majority seemed to have forgotten an incident to which they had latterly become accustomed, and maintained their seats quietly. Upon reaching the door we found that our carriage, with all the others waiting for the audience, had been made, by the police, to pass down a small by-street, lest they should have been seized by the mob for the purpose of forming a barricade.*

We had heard that the great banquet of the working classes, called "La Fraternisation des Travailleurs," having been forbidden by authority, and postponed, would be entirely given up; but it

* It was near this very spot that the first fighting commenced so few days afterwards; and for several weeks after the suppression of the insurrection the Gymnase, the delight of the idle moments of so many Parisians of all classes in quiet times, was converted into an "ambulance" quite filled with the wounded; and Madame de Montigny (Rose Chéri), the wife of the proprietor, together with many of her charming companions, were indefatigable in their attendance; showing that they know as well how to alleviate the real wants and sorrows of human life, as to chase away its *ennuis*.

is now fixed for the 14th of July. As this is the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, it may be there is a serious intention in naming that day; otherwise I cannot help thinking that, in fixing attention upon so distinct an epoch, there is some intention of putting the authorities off their guard as to what may be plotting in the interim. However, General Cavaignac seemed to take it as the notification of a *bonâ fide* intention, as, in answer to the question of "What do you think of that banquet, General?" he replied, "The citizens who like to dine on the 14th of July in the field of Vincennes have the same right, *neither more nor less*, than I have to fix the same ground for a great review of 50,000 men which I mean to put in order for that same 14th of July."

June 21.

A name which genius had already ennobled, is again in everyone's mouth. The poet-peer, now le citoyen Victor Hugo, made his first appearance in the tribune of the National Assembly, and his speech met with very distinguished success. In ability it was worthy of his former reputation; some of the expressions were so neatly turned that they are likely to become household words. Pro-

fessing a great admiration for the revolution itself, he blamed everything it had hitherto done; told some home truths to the Socialists; and spoke his mind more freely than any one has yet done as to *les Ateliers Nationaux*. "Les Ateliers Nationaux sont un expédient fatal. A ceux qui n'avaient connu jusqu'alors que la force généreuse d'un bras qui travaille, vous avez appris la honteuse puissance de la main tendue. Nous connaissons déjà le désœuvré de l'opulence, vous avez créé le désœuvré de la misère cent fois plus dangereux pour lui-même et pour autrui."

He then went on, in a strain at once popular in its topic, and brilliant in its execution, to glorify Paris and to grudge to London the temporary advantages which the consequences, as he said, of the revolution had alone given her. "Paris est la capitale actuelle du monde civilisé. Ce que Rome était autrefois Paris l'est aujourd'hui: Paris a une fonction dominante parmi les nations: Paris a le privilège d'établir à certaines époques, souverainement, *brusquement peut-être*, des grandes choses. C'est les penseurs de Paris qui les préparent, et les ouvriers de Paris qui les exécutent."*

But then, in a few words of caution to the So-

* A few days afterwards "les ouvriers de Paris qui exécutent de grandes choses"—perhaps he will now admit sometimes *trop brusquement*—sacked the house of "le Penseur" in the Place Royale, whilst he was, as an armed Représentant, absent, and opposing their last idea of "une grande chose."

cialists, he drew a melancholy picture of the universal distress which pervaded every class since February.

“Et ce qui ajoute à mon inexprimable douleur c'est que d'autres jouissent et profitent de nos calamités. Pendant que Paris se débat dans ce paroxysme que nos *ennemis* (ils se trompent) prennent pour l'agonie, Londres est dans la joie, Londres est dans les fêtes. . . . Oui, l'Angleterre, à l'heure où nous sommes, s'assied en riant à l'abord de l'abîme où la France tombe.”

After a sensible speech of a somewhat more practical character from M. Léon Faucher, who showed that the danger did not confine itself to the 114,000 men still enrolled in the Ateliers Nationaux, but extended to the 50,000 men who were clamorous for admission, M. Caussidière made a speech, later on in the discussion, which is only so far worthy of being noticed, as M. Caussidière, though a coarse, ill-educated man, is a shrewd observer, and intends to be an incarnation of the popular sentiment of the moment. The remedy, according to M. Caussidière, for the present evils of the country, is a large bounty on the export of French goods; and the special object which he announced to the Assembly he hoped to attain was to strike England in her vitals by ruining her commerce through customs' duties and protection upon their own manufactures. M. Caussidière's spleen had been specially excited by the purchase made by

English traders of French goods at such low prices during this spring. One should have thought there had been nothing particularly offensive in thus putting in practice the principle latterly taught in England of buying in the cheapest market ; since, whatever the prices given, they were more than the ruined shopkeepers (who were under no compulsion to sell) could otherwise have obtained, indeed, its effect, at a critical moment of the young republic, was so far from being injurious, that by the beginning of the month of April it had helped to reduce the price of the English sovereign from twenty-nine francs, which it had reached, down to par.

The remarkable fact about M. Caussidière's speech was its reception. No one found the least fault with its outrageous tone ; on the contrary, he was complimented on its spirit. There are a few free-traders in the house, such as M. Léon Faucher ; yet no one ventured to say a word whilst the President of the Committee of Labour, after complimenting M. Caussidière, announced that he was about to propose a decree on the subject of bounties. This will, of course, be a considerable modification of M. Caussidière's proposal ; but this reception of his speech in the Assembly of the fraternising republic was a singular response to the generous sentiments, on the common interest and the mutual prosperity of neighbouring countries, which had been uttered two days before at the table of the Lord Mayor of

London. The contrast could not but strike me forcibly on hearing these words:—

“Par ce fait prenez y garde, citoyens, vous annihilerez le commerce de l’Angleterre. Il faut en venir à de grands moyens. Il faut attaquer l’Angleterre dans son sein.”*

But when such an accusation as the following was not met with a single dissenting murmur, there was something beyond the mere absence of all feeling of reciprocal good-will such as our Chief Magistrate had proclaimed, because he knew how it would be responded to:—

“Aujourd’hui qu’arrive-t-il de vos cents mille hommes de trop dans Paris, de vos Ateliers Nationaux? Il arrive qu’ils font le club de désespoir tous les soirs sur le Boulevard, que l’or de la Russie et de l’Angleterre, (si vous ne le savez pas je viens de vous l’apprendre,) sert ameuter les gens.”†

The project of the Commission was at length adopted without opposition.

* If I am not much mistaken, when, very soon after these words were uttered, M. Caussidière was driven into forced exile by ungrateful France, he sought a safe refuge in that country which he would have attacked “dans son sein,” and has since exercised a profitable branch of industry where he would have annihilated commerce.

† This, which in the mouth of M. Caussidière was without much importance, was repeated, whilst the battle was already raging in the streets, by an actual minister, and, as will be seen,

Chantilly, June 22.

Just as I was, for the first time since the revolution in February, leaving town for eight-and-forty hours, I most unexpectedly received, from M. Bastide, an enclosure from the Minister of Finance, declining to pay at once the deposits of any subscribers to the savings' banks who had not been driven from France by actual violence. So flagrant an evasion of the substantial part of the engagement taken with me by M. Lamartine and the Provisional Government, now three months since, surprised me the more, as I had only the day before renewed the subject with M. Bastide, who then still contemplated no serious obstacle to the settlement of the question. I therefore put together the various papers connected with the subject, and am making use of a portion of my single holiday in stating the whole case formally to M. Bastide; and as it is a question of such vital interest to so many of my countrymen, I am desirous to keep always by me a record of what I have done, and shall therefore transcribe here the note which I mean to-morrow to take up with me to Paris and send immediately to the *Affaires Étrangères*.

was a source of much danger to the English merchants, and ground of strong remonstrance on my part even at the time the issue of that battle was still doubtful.

“ MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 20th inst., containing an enclosure from the Minister of Finance, in which you state he now declines to pay back, in full, the deposits in the Savings' Bank of the English workmen who have been obliged to leave France in consequence of the events of last February, with the exception of those who have been driven from the country by actual violence.

“ I am sure, from the tone of every one of our many conversations on this subject, you will yourself have anticipated the surprise with which I have, on the 21st of June, received this announcement.

“ M. Duclerc seems to treat the subject as if it was quite a new one, with which he was at perfect liberty to deal at his pleasure, instead of its being one on which I am now only asking the fulfilment of assurances given by the Provisional Government, through their organ M. Lamartine, three months since, without any such capricious limitation as it is now sought to establish. The Minister of Finance, engrossed with his present arduous duties, must have forgotten, if he ever heard, what passed upon this subject with those who were then his chiefs. He seems to me to have confounded two separate applications made upon distinct grounds, and at different times, which were both frankly responded to by M. Lamartine's sense of justice. The one was for an indemnification as to loss of property —

such as furniture destroyed, or clothes left behind — on behalf of those who were obliged to fly at a moment's notice from the actual violence of a mob which was unchecked by any authority. The other, which was some days later, since it arose from the decree of the 9th of March, was for an exemption from the operation of that decree in favour of those English subjects who were obliged to leave their employment, and therefore France, in consequence of the events of February. Upon this occasion the argument I used was in substance this,—that though the republic might have a perfect right to expect sacrifices from its own people, it could not, in equity, justify the seizing upon the property of English subjects who had deposited their hard-earned savings, upon a faith in the laws of the country; that these savings had been reserved purposely to provide against the contingency of a forced cessation of employment, which now, by no act of their own, had fallen upon them; that, moreover, the personal sacrifice pressed much more heavily upon those whom the supposed political benefits thus purchased could never reach. The French workman had his home and his friends as well as his hopes of the future; but, with the English workman, there was no alternative between removal or starvation: it was impossible, therefore, to deny him the use of his own money, which, by the labour of his hands, he had provided for a necessity which you had forced upon him.

“ These, Monsieur le Ministre, were the broad principles upon which I, on the 4th of April, appealed to M. Lamartine on behalf of my unfortunate fellow-countrymen. I could with confidence appeal to him again, whether in this or any other of the numerous conversations which we had on this subject, there was the slightest allusion to any such limitation of the benefit as to confine it to those only who had previously been subject to personal violence ; — a distinction which I think I can presently show, in a few words, would be as impracticable as it is unjust.

“ Manifold delays have since occurred, which have been the cause of constant vexation to me from knowing how anxiously those hours of expectation must be passed by these poor people ; but the purport of all the frequent communications which these delays necessitated, tended to confirm in me the confidence that no limitation of the principle was intended. At first, M. Lamartine assured me that orders should be sent down to the different branch banks to pay the English depositors when leaving the country. He then wished for some estimate of the sums which might be required, in order that they might be sent down. In one instance of a manufactory closed at Haut-wardieu, near Lille, I made a representation that the workmen were awaiting at Calais the promised repayment of the deposits, and would, if it were delayed, lose their passage to Australia M.

Lamartine kindly assured me that a telegraphic message should, under these circumstances, be sent down to Calais to authorise the payment. M. Lamartine, the next morning, regretted that it had been too late to work the telegraph that evening. I mention this particular case only to show how thoroughly the general principle claimed by me had been admitted by the Provisional Government; for there never had been any actual disturbances of this nature in the neighbourhood of Lille. I was afterwards asked to get lists, from the different parts of France, of the English workmen who had left the country in consequence of the events of last February. These, at the request of Government, I have some time since sent in,—of course without any reference to the distinction now announced by the Minister of Finance,—but I had directed all the consuls not to receive any names except of those who had been morally forced to leave the country.

“ Upon one occasion I received a letter, in which there was a phrase which seemed to me to indicate the intention of some such limitation as is here more distinctly announced. I at once wrote a letter, the end of April, to M. Lamartine, who was still at the Foreign Office, affirming, in plain terms, my understanding of the engagement he had entered into with me, and for which I had thanked him on the part of my Government. I also called his attention to the many preceding occasions on which this engagement had been distinctly referred to in

writing. In regular established Governments such a letter would have required a written answer ; but I made allowance for the provisional state of everything, including our relations, and after two days I sought M. Lamartine, personally asked him if he had received my letter, and if I had not rightly recorded what he had promised. He answered 'Certainly' — that he regretted much the delay that had taken place, and would take care that all should be at once arranged.

“ Having thus, I trust, established, by a detail necessarily rather long, that I am only pressing for the tardy fulfilment of an engagement taken three months ago, it becomes less necessary that I should make any remarks upon the reasoning of the Minister of Finance, or upon the practicability of his plan. I have, incidentally, in stating, the grounds upon which I made this application to M. Lamartine, answered the assumption, which I cannot for a moment admit, that this decree presses with equal severity upon the Frenchmen domiciled at home, as upon my own countrymen. M. Duclerc states that they have for a long time enjoyed the same benefit from this humane institution ; but he speaks as if the money belonged to the Government, and not to the individual. The institution is only a benefit, in so far as it is solvent when the occasion arises against which the provision is made. M. Duclerc will also remember that with Frenchmen it was openly stated at the Hôtel-de-Ville that

all these measures were the price they must be ready to pay for their political freedom. 'We have three months' misery at the service of the Republic,' was the responsive cry; but whatever the Englishman's appreciation of the bargain might be, it was one from which he could derive no prospective advantage.

"I profess myself utterly at a loss to comprehend by what train of reasoning the Minister finds in the application of personal violence any special claim for payment from the *Caisses d'Épargne*. If it was the cause of precipitate departure, one can see at once why M. Lamartine thought it a ground for repaying the loss of goods and chattels left behind. But, as far as foreigners are concerned, the question with respect to the *Caisse d'Épargne* seems to me—are they obliged to leave the country from the stoppage, by no fault of their own, of the work by which alone they can live here? If I could show the Minister of Finance that in many instances the master has told the workmen with whom he had special engagements, that he could not observe them, for that he was repeatedly threatened if he did;—if I could even show that local authorities had recommended master manufacturers to discharge their English workmen, as otherwise they could not answer for the public peace many days longer,—would the Minister of Finance, to constitute compulsion, still require an access of popular fury,—would not this chronic anarchy do its work as surely? Why, when once discharged, should the Minister of Fi-

nance wish them to wait till actually driven on board at the point of the bayonet? Deprived of all funds, starvation would be as certain death as the musket of the *émeutier*; and he who is innocently exposed to the one or the other seems equally an object of compassion.

“How, also, does the Minister of Finance think it would be possible to procure such a return as he wishes? Take Rouen, for instance: who could, after four months, define whether the hundreds who were driven from thence were actually in the power of the mob? would he admit to the benefit all who escaped from one spot where there had actually been a riot, and exclude all who, from the same motives, fled from another where violence was imminent?

“In conclusion, your Excellency will excuse the length to which the subject has led me. I look for this indulgence, as, from all that has passed between us, I feel assured of your sympathy in this appeal,—an appeal from the decision of the Minister of Finance, which I would make with almost equal confidence to the good faith of the executive council or the good feelings of the French people. I am assured, from what I have seen of the people within these few months, that they would not wish the material resources of their great country should be temporarily eked out by that pittance which is the hard-earned property of those who are obliged in destitution to leave these shores. They may be

ready to contend with them, for the future, in the field of labour, but not to deprive them of that which, by the work of their hands, they had already made their own. I still hope, however, that you may be able to give a practical solution to this question by bringing it before the Executive Commission, two of whose members have already, through the mouth of M. Lamartine, expressed their sense of the equity of the case and of the engagement which was then taken with me. I doubt not their colleagues, animated by the same sentiments, were cognizant of what passed at that time. I trust I may then, at length, be able to announce the fulfilment of this act of justice to these my poor fellow-countrymen.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.”

This task once finished, it was delightful, during the latter part of my one holiday, to ride about the forest, now in all the fresh yet full developed beauties of the young summer. To feel, for the first time, quite beyond the sound of the rappel, and out of the hearing of any more formidable exponents of the doctrines of Communism than the cuckoo.

It is but a short glimpse of that forest life, which,

“ exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.”

June 23.

I am just arrived, and I find there has already been very severe fighting for some hours. No one seems exactly to know what is the object of the insurrection, except that it has all the appearance of being a general outbreak of *Les Proletaires de Paris*: not at all confined to those hitherto connected with the *Ateliers Nationaux*. Some barricades have been already taken, but with much loss of life, particularly in the second legion of the National Guard. Many of the people, too, have been killed. The first discharge of fire-arms took place from the summit of the enormous barricade near the Porte St. Denis, and from the surrounding windows, all filled with armed insurgents. Other barricades had also been formed simultaneously in the Rue St. Martin, Rue du Faubourg St. Denis, Rue d'Enghein, Boulevard Bonnes Nouvelles, Rue du Clery. It was near here that my friend M. Roger du Nord had a narrow escape. I have just heard that in the exercise of his duty of a staff officer of the National Guards he was carrying an important order. His bridle was seized, and a pistol pointed at his breast: he ran his assailant through the body, and putting spurs to his horse, miraculously escaped at full gallop. One of the first persons killed on the side of the insurgents was a woman who was standing on the top of the

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barricade, and waving a flag in defiance. There was something in the wild enthusiasm which animated her handsome person which at first, from a natural impulse, assured her safety. But her neighbourhood was soon made the safe resort of those who leisurely took a secure aim at the officers of the attacking force, and the forbearance of their men was thus exhausted; and I am told this would-be-heroine fell pierced with many balls. From this moment the resistance on the part of the insurgents at this particular point is said to have become less obstinate, and, if I am rightly informed, this is one of the barricades that have already been taken; but I hear, at the same time, that one half of Paris, the whole eastern portion, from Montmartre across to the Barrière de Fontainebleau, is already studded with monster barricades. If the result should be what one wishes, it will surely be an inquiry of serious consequence to those in authority why there was not a single instance of a barricade attacked and destroyed while in progress of formation.

I am going down to the Assembly, having provided myself with a military pass.

23rd. 11.45. P. M.

It is now twelve o'clock, and I am just returned from a second visit to the Assembly, and there matters were evidently thought very serious. There has been great loss of life. The *émeutiers* fight desperately behind their barricades. The troops have failed in one or two attacks, but only from not being in sufficient numbers; otherwise all branches of the military force continue to behave well: so I trust there is no doubt as to the result, but it will leave a very bitter feeling. Two or three generals have been wounded, as well as Clément Thomas, the late National Guard General. The Assembly was very disorderly, and failed in affording, by its calm, that control to the tumult without, which would have been the most useful example.

The Minister of Finance told them that many of the late Republican Guard were amongst the rebels on the barricades, and with the arms furnished them as such. Cassidière was hooted when endeavouring to persuade them to treat with the *émeute*. I am told His Excellency Flocon said, in the morning sitting, that it was got up by foreign gold. This is rather strong from a *minister*, and when the struggle is over, if that dignitary survives it officially, some explanation ought to be given as to whom he meant. In the morning sitting, M.

de Falloux had presented, in the name of the Commission of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, an edict for their instant deportation ; rather late, as I hear that many of their brigadiers were recognised on the barricades in their blue cap with a gold band, the distinctive mark of their authority.

Bastide told me, as I met him coming out, "Çà va très mal," and added that Cavaignac did not intend to attack them in their entrenchments until the morning. So we have some hours for reflection, for the circumstances are not very favourable for repose.

What a long day this seems to have been ! It is almost impossible to believe that these latter hours of restless and ever-varying emotion should have come within the same revolution of the clock during which I had left such perfect repose at Chantilly. It was the most lovely morning that ever was seen. The atmosphere was glowing with the genial warmth by which Nature ensures the gradual progress of her peaceful reformatations.

Having, as I thought, left myself time to ride leisurely down to St. Leu to meet the train, I proceeded lazily at a foot's pace. The country between St. Leu and Chantilly has no striking feature or other attraction than that it is thorough country. The husbandmen I met were few, as just now their toil is light : those whose path I crossed were contemplating with pleasing anticipation the rich promise of the coming harvest, in the

partition of which they have each a small personal share, and I could not help thinking how many millions there are at this moment in France to whom such tranquil enjoyment of the bounties of Nature would gratify their utmost desires; who care for changes of the seasons, not for changes of government; and who have not the most distant idea of the meaning, policy, or delights of a *République Démocratique et Sociale*: and yet a deadly struggle must, within (I then thought) a very few days, be engaged in nominally for those millions, the success of which would probably send these happy husbandmen to fight and die on the banks of the Rhine, the Vistula, or the Po, in the cause of other nations, perhaps as indifferent as themselves to the promises of a political Millennium.

The effect the heat of the day had upon the pace of my horse, with which I did not interfere, had consumed more time than I had calculated, and when I reached the point of the last hill, I saw the train already smoking at the station, and in spite of an energetic gallop over the remaining space, I found the attempt vain, — the train was steaming away at full swing before I reached my destination. I was obliged to return to Chantilly to get my carriage, and post from thence to Paris. Lady N. was very unwilling, on some accounts, to be left behind, but, though not expecting that the battle was already begun, I had my misgivings

that events might occur during the next few days from which it was better she should be absent.

I was, therefore, some hours later in the day than I should otherwise have been in my arrival. I had no indication of what was passing till I reached St. Denis, where I saw considerable movement amongst the small detached garrison, and I was told at the Poste that it was impossible to attempt to enter Paris, as all that portion of it was in the power of the insurgents. However, I said that I did not mean to go near the Porte St. Denis, and that if the Barrière de Clichy was inaccessible, I would try the Barrière de Monceau. I therefore obtained a pair of horses, with a postilion sitting on the barouche box, as likely to excite least attention in case we came across any detachment of insurgents. The postilion, who had indeed the appearance of one of the few remaining specimens of the old stock, as soon as he could leave the Pavé for the Chemin de Côté, lashed his horses into a gallop, turned round, and said to me, in the most melancholy tone: "Ça va très mal à Paris: on s'entretue pire que jamais." I can understand that one who probably for the last thirty years had had his double Poste Royale from half the world arriving at Paris, could not view with particular favour a République Démocratique et Sociale, which would deprive him of the little custom the railroad had left.

Near the Barrière de Monceau, one passes through

a suburb which is not far from one of the worst parts of Paris, called la Petite Pologne, and here the streets were crowded with *des figures de mauvais augure*, groups unarmed, mostly standing about near their own dwellings.

Upon my first visit to the Assembly this morning, even in the midst of the agitation caused by the struggle already begun, which superseded for the time all other interests, I heard that an intense sensation had yesterday been produced by the first great speech of M. Montalembert, in his new character of *Réprésentant du Peuple*, and upon the subject of the proposed decree authorising the Government to take possession of the railroads. He made this an occasion for stating his opinion boldly, as he was sure to do, upon the general state of the country. It was unlucky that this should have occurred almost the only day I have been absent from the discussions since the opening of the Assembly.

June 24. 5.30. A. M.

I have heard heavy firing, since a little after 4 o'clock, in the direction of the Faubourg St. Jacques, and also of the Hôtel-de-Ville. It has been principally cannonading, as musketry, even in volleys, would be little heard from that distance,

particularly as the wind is in a contrary direction. At this hour in the morning, it is difficult to get correctly at what is going on, as those who have been about thus early, always contrive to have seen much more than at a time when their news is more easily tested. It is said that the barricades have been much increased during the night. The 12th legion of the National Guard, which was that of Barbès, has gone over to the *people*, as they are called, which only means that the Faubourg St. Marceau is in the power of its inhabitants, who are of the worst description, and who were all admitted into the National Guard by the recent regulations.

Cannons have not been heard for the last three quarters of an hour, but, as yet, I cannot tell whether this is in consequence of the barricades having been taken, against which they were directed. It is reported that there has been a defection of two battalions of the *Garde Mobile*. I trust this may prove incorrect, as their strength has hitherto been that, as yet, all have stood firm, with the exception of the 12th legion. On the other hand, it is believed that the National Guards of all the neighbouring provinces will march in the course of to-day or to-morrow to resist the République Rouge.

8.30. A. M.

I have just returned from the early morning sitting of the Assembly. The report made upon the opening of the sitting, as to the events of the night, was anything but reassuring. There has been a suspension of arms on the part of the Government, apparently acquiesced in by the insurgents, till after day-break, but the latter had skilfully availed themselves of the interval in strengthening many of their positions, and multiplying their defences. There seemed to me intense anxiety in the haggard looks of the deputies I found there. It was at once proposed and carried that Paris should be placed in a state of siege, and all the Executive powers given to General Cavaignac alone. There having been some hesitation as to the mode of doing this, and much consequent tumult, M. Bastide obtained a moment's silence, and appealed to their patriotic sentiments to put aside all personal feelings, adding, "If you hesitate, in an hour the Hôtel-de-Ville may be taken." M. Jules Favre moved an additional article, to the effect that the Assembly declared the Executive Commission, from that moment, deprived of all power. A portion of the Assembly eagerly adopted this proposal; others said it was perfectly unnecessary, as the decree already voted virtually established the fact, and M. Duclerc, the Minister of Finance, entreated the Assembly not to pass a

vote of mere spite (*de faire une vote de rancune*), and the majority of the Assembly yielded to this appeal.

Two documents appeared in the "*Moniteur*" of this morning, calculated most seriously to compromise the safety of the English residents in Paris, by exciting against them the suspicion and ill-will of all those who are now fighting in defence of their dearest interests. One is a proclamation of M. Marrast, Mayor, in which he says of the people, "*les agents étrangers les excitent et les paient.*" The other, a report of a speech of M. Flocon, Minister of Agriculture, in the Assembly yesterday. In both there is allusion to the supposed intervention of foreign gold in the present insurrection. M. Marrast directly charges the delusion of the workmen, upon foreign agents, without indicating the quarter from whence they came; but M. Flocon distinctly alludes to the envy which the present happy state of France has excited in the neighbouring country, still suffering under so many abuses. He applies the accusation to *les gouvernements des nations voisines*. I had utterly disregarded insinuations of this nature which had been propagated by the subaltern agents of power, from the desire to attribute the general discontent to any other cause than their own incapacity, and the disappointment of all their unprincipled promises; but when I saw this in an official proclamation, and in the recognised speech of a Minister, it appeared

to be of a graver nature. I therefore sought M. Bastide very early this morning; but as he had already left home, I obtained an interview with him in the lobby of the House of Assembly, as soon as ever the vote was passed, which superseded the Executive Commission, and placed all the power of the State in the hands of General Cavaignac. I told him that I could not avoid taking the earliest opportunity of giving him my personal opinion upon two facts which had not come to my knowledge when I saw him yesterday. I then referred to these two statements, and said such stories were too absurd to merit attention as long as they were only made the subject of anonymous circulation; but I thought, as one of the representatives of those foreign countries amongst whom this vague assertion was allowed, at pleasure, to be apportioned, I had just right to complain that persons in authority had presumed to disseminate such calumnies against those who had shown every disposition to maintain friendly relations with them. That, speaking for myself and the English people, I could not but feel that it was but a sorry return for the loyalty, and, above all, the promptitude of our acceptance of that which appeared to be the wish of France, that its ministers should seem to point at us specially as engaged in underhand practices against them. I further said, that if the Corps Diplomatique had not, at this moment, been in such a provisional

state, and its relations not yet perfected, I should have thought it a case for a united remonstrance against proceedings so much at variance with all established usages in any regular government, whatever its form; but, under present circumstances, I thought it due to the terms on which we had transacted business together, to state frankly my feelings. M. Bastide assured me that he quite admitted the impropriety of the proceeding to which I had alluded, and did ample justice to the fair and honourable conduct towards the Republic of the English Government, as represented by myself, and he would have been ready at any other time to take any step I might have suggested; but, at such a moment, what could I expect him to do? I told him, I felt the difficulty of his doing anything at once; but it was the critical nature of the present moment which made the conduct of his colleagues more objectionable, for they were exposing innocent strangers of another country, certainly to unmerited odium, and possibly to personal danger from the vindictive feelings of any of the armed forces who might believe these slanders circulated upon their official authority. I did not mind for myself or others any anonymous imputations, but a Minister ought either to be silent, or to be able to prove such an accusation. If they could bring any proof against any of my countrymen of having offered money for such purposes, no one would more rejoice than

I should that they should be punished ; but I was certain this was not the case. I did not wish to interrupt him at such a moment, but I hoped his colleagues would be prevented from repeating such calumnies by knowing that my opinion was shared by him. M. Bastide said that certainly, in office or out of it, he should never conceal his opinion that it was a calumny ; but that the only thing now certain was, that he was just going to tender his resignation, and for the rest no one in Paris could say whether he would be alive at the end of the day.

11.30. A. M.

Upon the reopening of the sitting of the Assembly at 11 o'clock, the President read the following letter from the Government, which had been superseded two hours before : —

“CITOYEN PRÉSIDENT,

“La Commission du pouvoir Exécutif aurait manqué à la fois à ses devoirs et à son honneur en se retirant devant une sédition et devant un péril public ; elle se retire seulement devant un vote de l'Assemblée. En remettant les pouvoirs dont vous l'aviez investie, elle entre dans les rangs de la représentation nationale, pour se dévouer avec vous au danger commun et au salut de la République.

“Les Membres de la Commission Exécutive,

“ F. ARAGO,

“ LEDRU-ROLLIN,

“ GARNIER-PAGÈS,

“ LAMARTINE,

“ MARIE.”

After the reading of this letter had been received with satisfaction, General Cavaignac announced to the Members that if any chose to offer the assistance of their presence on the scene of action, General Lamoricière's head-quarters were at the Porte St. Denis, General Duvivier's at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and General Dumesne's at the Place de la Sorbonne, on the extreme right. It was settled that the members who should undertake the task of supporting the troops by their presence should be chosen by the Bureaux, and should depart in the directions indicated, wearing the distinguishing scarf of a representative.

The attack upon the Hôtel-de-Ville has been repulsed; but General Duvivier, badly wounded, now calls loudly for reinforcements, or else he cannot answer for the result if the attack should be renewed; and, indeed, the insufficient number of troops to deal with so gigantic an insurrection becomes everywhere apparent. The Place Royale was taken by the insurgents, and the house of M. Victor Hugo being pointed out to them, they sacked it whilst searching for his family,

whom, had they found, they determined to take as hostages. The *ouvriers* have been much irritated by some expression as to Socialism in the fine speech of "le penseur" a few days since. A considerable portion of the 8th legion of the National Guard, and half of that of the sixth arrondissement have gone over to the insurgents. The troops have uniformly behaved well, as have both the Mobile and the National Guards. Reinforcements of every description of arms continue to arrive, though quite inadequate to the exigencies of the fight, and, up to this hour, the insurgents, except in one instance, have shown no intention of yielding. Fifteen hundred men shut up in St. Sevrin, capitulated and laid down their arms; but all the rest continue to fight desperately. It is said that there never was such hard fighting in France upon any former occasion of popular outbreak.

Cavaignac expresses great confidence that he shall have mastered the whole affair by to-morrow, but I am sorry to hear that he has announced his intention of commencing by bombarding the city (Isle St. Louis), unless those who are entrenched there surrender at discretion; the certain effect of this will be to exasperate very much those of the working classes who have not, as yet, taken any part, and who, I understand, are to be seen in great numbers hovering about the confines of Paris, and ready to be put in action by any small success or new impulse.

If this night passes without any reverse on the side of order, I think Paris is safe from the horrors of *la République Rouge*.

The dismissal of the Executive Commission has been received with satisfaction by all parties in the present conflict. In four months these once popular idols have, by their misdeeds, contrived to appropriate to themselves the contumelious feelings which marked the exit of the Orleans Dynasty.

3. P. M.

Suspense and anxiety make one restless; all communication with the distant part of Paris is cut off and the atrocious calumnies against the English would make it imprudent to wander far from home, even if there was not the material difficulty of arbitrary orders for stopping everybody, which are executed without much discrimination. I have been walking up and down for exercise within a quarter of a mile of the embassy, and two incidents of a very different character, though in both the principal figure belonged to that sex usually spared from all active participation in the chances of war, have just come within my own observation. One, which has left a most painful impression, was the sight of a poor woman, her person covered with a soldier's great coat, which one hand clutched convulsively; but enough appeared to mark her to have been a *vivandière*, carried on a *brancard*

towards the hospital ; and by her side was a little dog, whining piteously, and licking her poor pale face, on which there was an expression of patient agony. A little farther on, I met another large handsome woman, to all appearance very far advanced in pregnancy, struggling fiercely against a corporal's guard, who, I thought, were treating too roughly one in her condition, whatever might have been her political fault ; but, upon inquiry, I found that the shape which had seemed to indicate a mission, in the course of nature, to bring another wretched unit into the world, had been, on the contrary, caused by a deliberate intention to send as many as possible out of it ; and that within a basket-work, fixed beneath her gown, was stuffed a provision of cartridges, which she had been detected carrying to the quarter called *la petite Pologne*, in our neighbourhood, where there was a population most anxious to join the insurrection, but only deterred by want of ammunition.*

7. P. M.

If one can believe that the whole truth is told in the reports made to the National Assembly, all

* I heard afterwards that this device of carrying ammunition by means of women apparently with child was of general application, and that false passes were forged for that purpose. The next day the order to the troops was, not to permit free movement even with a pass, unless the destination was specified, and then to send a couple of men with the bearer of the pass.

looks much better to-night; but I am warned by one who is connected with the public offices, though not a minister, that it is thought prudent to select only for immediate publication, from the "National" or the "Tribune," those reports which are calculated to allay apprehension. Some casualties, both of general officers and representatives, excite much sensation. Generals Bedeau and Dumesne are both badly wounded. The latter, after taking the Panthéon, which had, for some time, offered most desperate resistance, in an attempt to push his advantage, and carry a barricade behind it, was shot in the leg, and obliged to give up his command to General Bréa.*

M. Bixio and M. Dornes, of the National Guard, and M. Clément Thomas, late Commandant of the National Guard, are all dangerously wounded.

10. P. M.

The President has just announced that he has received a report from General Bréa that the insurrection has ceased to exist on the left bank of the Seine.

* The greatest interest was excited as to the lingering sufferings of General Dumesne; the amputation of his leg was not considered possible for some time; when it was at last decided, his state appeared for some days afterwards to improve; but he was attacked with brain fever, and expired on the 30th of July.

June 25.

The first news this morning hardly confirmed the favourable aspect which affairs bore at the close of the evening. During the night the insurgents had gained much ground, had constructed many new barricades, and, though driven from every position on the south of the Seine, had occupied the whole of the north-east of Paris, having their right at Montmartre, and extending to the left over the whole of the Faubourg St. Antoine. In the latter quarter, however, some of the most determined bands are to be found; but it is said that their ammunition has begun to fail. The Government express great confidence in the certainty of the result with the amount of force they have at their command; but the position occupied by the insurgents has been made so strong with barricades, and they possess so completely all the sympathies of these bad quarters, and therefore have every window in their favour, that there must still be a frightful loss of life unless the Government have force enough to take the barricades also in the rear. The *émeutiers* have possessed themselves of several cannon, and have some artillery-men to work them. On the other hand, the *esprit* of the troops is excellent. The Guard Mobile have fought desperately on the side of the

Government, and have suffered severely. The National Guards have, for the greater part, shown much energy and devotion. At first there was not as good a muster as usual; but they say 20,000 additional men appeared under arms as soon as ever it was known that the Executive Commission was superseded. On the other hand, the colours of the 12th legion (Barbes') and of the 8th (that of the Faubourg St. Antoine) appear on the top of the barricades, and many thousand workmen, lately enrolled in the National Guard, and in possession of their arms, are supposed to be waiting at home with the intention of joining the insurrection, should there at any moment be a turn in their favour. This, indeed, seems to me to be the only danger as to the result; as in such case, if the revolt broke out unexpectedly in other parts of the town, the attention of the military authorities might be injuriously diverted. The spirit of the working classes is remarked to be very bad, and their language threatening; but they are well watched, and since yesterday morning there has been no attempt in this neighbourhood to make a barricade; several companies of the 1st legion succeeded at once in destroying one that had been commenced at the top of the Rue d'Astorg; and since then this quarter has remained without any overt act of insurrection.

The army have had a frightful loss of officers, as the marksmen from the windows almost always

picked them out; but this has exasperated to the highest degree the soldiers of the line, who are determined to make a terrible example of those who still hold the barricades. Many persons of my acquaintance in society have suffered in the ranks of the National Guards; and some of the most respectable shop-keepers in Paris, known to all its frequenters as living in Rue de la Paix and the adjacent streets, have been killed. I trust that we may now anticipate the defeat of this attempt to establish a *République Rouge*, the success of which, in the present feverish state of society, would probably have produced dreadful attempts at imitation throughout Europe, and the triumph of legalised authority cannot fail to diffuse its salutary example far and wide. But peace, when restored to this unhappy city, will have been purchased at an awful price of human suffering and misery. To say nothing of the immediate ruin of hundreds of the middle classes, who were struggling against accumulating difficulties, and whom this blow will finish for ever, what is to become of those many thousands whose state, nearly approaching to starvation, induced them to follow the counsels of desperate men? Those who escape the immediate consequences of their guilt will find their condition more hopeless than ever.

As I select from numerous and contradictory reports what appear to me most worthy of credit, and therefore fit to be recorded, my impressions as

to the results of a speedy and favourable issue, vary with the changing events. I find that, in spite of the great successes yesterday, and the somewhat too favourable report made to the Assembly of the substantial results those successes had obtained, the general feeling this morning is of universal despondency. The Parisians are rather unfavourably *impressionés* by the duration of the revolt. This is the third day ; and they say that their experience is, that, when an insurrection has lasted three days, it has uniformly, as in July and February, ended in a revolution.

CHAP. XIV.

UNSATISFACTORY RUMOURS.—ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL BRÉA.
 —DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.—ASPERSIONS AGAINST
 THE ENGLISH.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH M. BASTIDE.—DIFFI-
 CULTIES ATTENDING THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT.—
 INTERVIEW WITH M. BASTIDE.—PROCEEDINGS AT THE AS-
 SEMBLY.—THE “MONITEUR’S” VERSION OF THE DEATH OF
 THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.—BARBARITIES COMMITTED BY
 THE INSURGENTS.—DESPERATE DEFENCE OF A BARRICADE
 ON THE BOULEVARDS.—THE NEW MINISTRY.

June 25. 6. P. M.

I AM obliged to guard myself very much against current reports at these moments, particularly on the side of alarm, which always spread the fastest. A member created a great sensation in the Assembly, by asserting that he had heard a National Guard report to General Lafontaine, who was wounded, that they had just arrested a boy with 10,000 francs upon him. Within the hour several new incidents have occurred, some bad, some good.

At the War Office, they complain that troops do not arrive from the country as fast as they could wish; but within the last hour the heavy artillery has come in from Bourges, and some from La Fère, the men animated with the best spirit;

and Cavaignac now means to spare the infantry, which have suffered dreadfully, and to make more use of the artillery. There is a corps of engineers arrived, who are to be used in some quarters in breaking from one house into the next, to prevent the destructive fire from the windows. In the meantime the insurgents are in complete possession of the heights of Montmartre, and an attempt is to be made to drive them from thence; in which case there is some expectation that they will to-night make our quarter of the town the scene of battle, and arrangements as to the disposal of forces are making with a view to that possibility. Indeed, I have heard from another source, that their plan (if not frustrated) certainly is to make a diversion in this part of the town from *la petite Pologne*, all the population of which is with them, and to descend by the Rue Meromesnil and other parallel streets. They would thus take the army of order in the rear and the flank, and, unless a portion of the already insufficient force is withdrawn from the eastern part of the town, the insurgents might make an unexpected attack through the Champs Élysées upon the Palais Bourbon or National Assembly itself. If this was prevented by a retrograde movement of a portion of the troops now engaged in central Paris, the unknown leaders of the insurrection would then trust such a retreat might be the signal for many to join them in arms, whose sympathies they believe to be theirs.

I have just heard a most heart-rending proof that the reports to the National Assembly do not always convey the whole truth, and that when a too favourable impression is created there, no particular pains are taken to correct it afterwards. Last night I mentioned a report was read from General Bréa, to the effect that the insurrection had been completely subdued on the left bank of the Seine. An account has now been brought to me, which I cannot doubt is true, of his cruel and barbarous assassination at the Barrière of Fontainebleau. Having imprudently yielded to an invitation on the part of these perfidious monsters to come within the enormous barricade that was still garrisoned and defended by numbers, the general, over-anxious, upon the instant, to realise the assurance he had already given to the Government that the insurrection no longer existed in that quarter of the town, was induced to trust to the assurance that, if he entered their fortified works alone with his aide-de-camp, they would be disposed to listen to him. Inveigled into a side building, which they used as a head-quarter, they secured him and the three officers of his staff, subjected him first to every species of insult, and then proceeded to murder him in cold blood. A woman who seemed to have some influence with them did all in her power to save his life by throwing herself between him and her associates, who were pointing their muskets at him. This, I am told, was seen from

windows without the barricades, already in the power of the soldiers, but who had no means of saving the life of their general. The woman, who alone of all those engaged on that side deserves credit for an act which proved her not entirely unsexed, was torn away by her brutal companions!

The report of the critical position of the general by those who had witnessed it from the distant windows, caused the troops to rush impetuously at the barricade. Alas, too late! The unfortunate general, mortally wounded, still lingered cruelly mutilated by the savages in whose hands he had trusted himself. When the barricade was carried by storm, he was found by the soldiers, who were much attached to him, not only dead, but a shapeless trunk, his arms, his legs, and lastly his head, having been cut off. I cannot exactly ascertain at what hour this happened; but there can be no doubt of the fact, as I have heard it from an individual in the Assembly, where it was well known; though not the slightest notice has been publicly taken of a fact so much at variance with a previous report, probably from the encouragement which this might give to the *émeutiers* if they heard of their still being able to execute such vengeance on the head of the general who had announced their subjection.*

* The remains of General Bréa were finally conveyed to the tomb at Nantes, on the 7th of July; and the officiating priest, recollecting how he came by his end, that, after having emu-

There is a curious paragraph in a newspaper called "La Liberté." It is only so far worthy of notice that it professes comparatively moderate opinions, and is—I have not been able to ascertain with what justice — said to be written in M. Lamartine's interest, if not under his inspiration. It shows the sort of suspicion of foreign interference which they seek to excite, in order to divert public attention from the fact that the Republic has failed, which, otherwise, it is feared, would be evident to every one.

Not only are England and Russia accused of an intended alliance to sacrifice France, but civil war is said to have been produced by the attempt to avert a foreign one.

At this moment, when M. Lamartine is exposed to as much of, I believe, unmerited obloquy as I think he was at one time the subject of exaggerated praise, I cannot but feel that the cause of civilisation will always owe him a debt of gratitude for the energetic manner in which he from the first opposed himself to any designs of armed propagandism.

lated his brave companions of arms in the vigour with which he repressed the insurrection, he lost his life in an attempt to spare a further needless effusion of blood, well remarked, "*La foi du Général Bréa était moins celle d'un chef militaire que celle d'un Chrétien, l'homme de cœur, l'homme de charité et d'amour a effacé l'homme d'épée.*"

General Bréa was a native of the beautifully situated little town of Mentona, in the duchy of Monaco.

I am informed that General Cavaignac has requested all the ministers to continue their functions for the moment, and has offered to M. Bastide alone the permanent continuance of his present department. M. Bastide's determination is not known, but, as I hear he is on the best terms with General Cavaignac, I hope his decision may be favourable.

June 26. 1. P. M.

At eleven o'clock we heard that the great barricaded fortification of St. Antoine, on the Place du Trône, had capitulated, and that, therefore, the insurrection was over. But, one hour afterwards, there came a frightful report that they had offered to capitulate, and that when the troops, at the head of whom was a general and two representatives, had marched in, they had closed upon the battalion and massacred them all. This story has been very generally current; but there is nothing horrible which people will not believe at these moments, and certainly nothing can be treated as incredible.

If anything could have been rejected at once as incredible, it would have been that which I have just heard upon authority, which marks it as

indisputably true. The Archbishop of Paris, revered and beloved by all who knew him, had volunteered a charitable pilgrimage into the last stronghold of the insurgents, to stop, by his presence and his influence, the further effusion of blood. He has fallen a victim to his heroic self-sacrifice, and has been mortally wounded by those whom he strove to save. The holy messenger of peace upon earth and good will towards men, has been slain by those, who, it was found, had inscribed upon their yet unfurled banners, "Vainqueurs, le pillage — Vaincus, l'incendie." The details of this most melancholy event I have not yet heard, but there can, alas! be no doubt as to the fact.

It was said by some that Cavaignac had given the Faubourg a certain time to surrender their arms; and if this was not done, then he threatened, at once, to bombard the Quarter. The difficulty of obtaining accurate information arises from all circulation without passes being suspended by the state of siege, which is vigorously enforced.

I have just heard from Lady N., to whom I had despatched Stuart to accompany her on her return, whenever it should be practicable. She mentions Stuart having been often stopped and questioned on his road. He found a bitter feeling against the English in many quarters, where the calumnies of His Excellency Flocon and others have produced a mischievous effect. This seems to have increased Lady N.'s anxieties, from a fear that it might

add to the difficulties and dangers of my position here.*

It is perfectly true that, in consequence of the unwarrantable statement of some members of the Government at the close of last week, that English gold had been unsparingly used in fomenting the late conspiracy, I found very wide-spread suspicions existed in the National Guard. I therefore thought it necessary to take some further step in the matter without delay, and the more so, as several English merchants or travellers represented to me that they considered their safety might be endangered by the feeling which had been excited against them. I therefore availed myself of the first moment of comparative calm which enabled me to move, to call on M. Bastide this morning, and settle with him confidentially what would be the best form in which to make public, on his part, a distinct contradiction of the calumnious report. He suggested that I should address him a note on the subject, to which he promised a satisfactory reply, and it appeared to me that in the present state of the public mind there was no time to be lost.

* All the ordinary means of communication with Chantilly having failed, but the Barrière de Monceaux being still free, I sent down a groom on horseback. The authorities at St. Denis refused to believe him my servant, and detained him. One should have thought that no one could have less the aspect of a Red Republican than an English groom on a thoroughbred horse.

I believe it is certain that much English money was found upon many of the insurgents, and there are still various speculations as to the source from whence it came. The Commission of the Assembly which has been named, and which has appointed M. Odilon Barrot as its President, will no doubt search out the whole truth.

5. P. M.

I am happy to be able to record, without any fear of having to correct the report, that this afternoon the last stronghold of the insurgents is really in the power of the troops, and the whole of the Faubourg St. Antoine actually evacuated by the insurgents; but I regret to add, that the report of treachery, to which I above alluded *as a report*, was to a certain extent true. It appears that when the *émeutiers* had induced the advanced portion of the military force, consisting, as it happened, principally of the National Guard of this Quarter, to enter between the barricades upon a supposed proposition of a surrender, they took them by surprise, opened a merciless fire upon them, and the struggle was dreadful. I have, as yet, no particulars of the resistance afterwards made, but the last report brought me is, that the troops were in pursuit of the retreating bands, outside the Barrier in the direction of Vincennes.

June 27.

General Cavaignac has published, in the "Moniteur" of this morning, a proclamation, dated the 25th, to the following effect: —

"The cause of order, and of the true Republic, triumphs.

"The insurrection is extinguished. A considerable quantity of arms has been seized. Everywhere the National Guard and the army, always admirable in their unity of action, gain ground, and break through every obstacle. We may affirm, without doubt, that the country and society are saved. From all the Departments fraternal assistance arrives. France has but one wish, one object, the Republic founded on order."

The same "Moniteur" which is headed with this proclamation contains some remarkable instances of the mischief caused by the well-intentioned meddling of some of the representatives, who have risked at the last moment that repose which one trusts the country will for a time enjoy; purchased, as it has been, by the shedding of so much precious blood. They have actually been in treaty with the remaining body of insurgents in the Faubourg St. Antoine for a capitulation, upon an engagement taken on the part of the Government "de les con-

server tous les droits de Citoyens Français," or, as it was more distinctly expressed upon further inquiry, upon a promise made to them of a general amnesty. Fortunately, neither the President of the Assembly nor the President of the Council would listen to such degrading weakness, dictated either by morbid sentiment or a spurious seeking after popularity. When this mistaken attempt failed, the representatives were taken prisoners by the insurgents, and kept as hostages till the unconditional surrender of the Faubourg. One of these, I heard, in referring to the shot fired at the Archbishop, states that the firing arose from a *malentendu*, and he thought the wound had been caused by a chance shot from the side of the troops; but I am inclined to believe that it will be found to have been the effect of the universal exasperation produced by the desperately hopeless prospects of the insurrection.

I hear, from many quarters, of this unpleasant feeling against the English. The National Guards were prepared for such an impression by the previous official insinuations; but I understand many sovereigns were actually found on several of the insurgents; this is, however, easily accounted for; because at the time of those enormous purchases of goods in the month of April, and during the range of the high exchange, very many were brought over, and it became the cheapest coin in

Paris; if, therefore, Ledru-Rollin or any one connected with the Government, were in the plot, it was the money that would naturally have occurred to them to give, with the additional advantage of throwing suspicion upon England.

There appeared a paragraph in the "Moniteur" of this morning, alluding to the statement that M. Émile de Girardin had been arrested, and seals placed on his printing presses. The fact is admitted, but it is added, that ten other newspapers had also ceased to appear, and that seals had also been placed upon their presses. These newspapers, it is added, have been suppressed without peculiar reference to their opinions, and because their conduct seemed of a nature to prolong the contest which has steeped the capital in blood. The names are, "La Révolution," "La Vraie République," "L'Organisation du Travail," "L'Assemblée Nationale," "Le Napoléon Républicain," "Le Journal de la Canaille," "Le Champion," "La Liberté," "Le Père Duchêne," "Le Pilori." It is impossible not to remark a flaw in this profession of impartiality, that whilst it is admitted that M. Émile de Girardin is in prison, it is not pretended that the same violation of personal liberty has been offered to "Le Père Duchêne," or to the editors of journals with such innocent names as "Le Champion," "Le Pilori," or "Le Journal de la Canaille."

It is said there was a very curious scene between Madame Émile de Girardin (better known as

Delphine Gay) and Bastide, at the Hotel of the Presidency yesterday. He treated her rather coolly, and she, who had addressed him merely as a representative, when she found out who he was, abused him before many of the *État-major*, saying that the whole was a "*querelle de boutique*;" that her husband's only fault was that he had written the "*National*" out of the market.

I have not been able to go down to the Assembly since the morning, and therefore am not as yet aware what has passed there.

The attempted rising at Marseilles has been quelled. I have seized the first moment the state of the town enables me to hope that the Government may attend to departmental duties, provided they are of urgent importance, to address the following representation to M. Bastide:—

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

"I have to call your serious and immediate attention to a most unfortunate prejudice which pervades certain classes in Paris, that England was in some way connected with the late atrocious outbreak.

"I should have thought that the absurdity of such a supposition would have sufficed for its correction, and I am induced to address this strong protest to you solely from one cause, that it appears this aspersion owes its currency to some vague expressions in a proclamation from a civic

authority, and also to a reported speech of a Minister in the Assembly, in one of which foreign agents were denounced, and in the other the ill-will of a neighbouring nation was stated to be the moving cause of these troubles. It is not for me to infer what may have been the intention of these phrases; I have but to deal with the effect unhappily produced—an effect not only injurious to our national honour, but dangerous, as I am informed, in the present state of excitement, to those individuals who, whilst seeking the hospitality of the French people, look to me for protection.

“I indignantly repel the possible participation in any such nefarious schemes, as at variance with the whole conduct of the British Government, and utterly inconsistent with our national character. And I confidently appeal to a consistent and honourable maintenance throughout of that friendly attitude which, on the part of Her Majesty’s Government, I was happy to be able to announce upon the first proclamation of the Republic. As long as met in the same spirit we always have, and always shall act upon the desire to maintain the most amicable relations with the French people, without in the least concerning ourselves as to what may be the form of government which the nation, in its omnipotence, deliberately adopts, I trust your Excellency will be able at once to give me that satisfaction on this point which, under the circumstances, I feel I have a right to demand,

and which I am confident it will be your desire to grant."

I had hardly despatched this, when a card was brought in from Lord —, with a message that he desired to see me, as he had something of the utmost importance to communicate. Lord — was an old acquaintance, of whose eccentric character I had happened to have had many proofs. As soon as he was seated, he began, with a most important air : "I am come to inform your Excellency that I have passed the last three days on the heights of Montmartre with the insurgents." I looked at the clock on the chimney, observed it wanted five-and-twenty minutes to four, and, stopping him short, said, "You will excuse me ; a train starts at four o'clock ; if you make haste, you may still arrive at the station in time. I am aware that at this moment an active search is making for some foreigners who are supposed to have been with the insurgents, who, on their side, are anxious to purchase their own safety by betraying them. I have no doubt you have only been indulging idle curiosity, but no such explanation will be listened to. After such events, a court-martial is no respecter of persons, and does not make nice distinctions ; and if the facts you have stated here are proved against you by others, if you remain in Paris many hours more, the great probability is you will be shot."—I must say that there was not the least hesitation on the part of my visitor in immediately taking my

advice, at the sacrifice of all the stories he had been so anxious to communicate. In looking out of the window, whilst taking leave of him, I saw a *fiacre* waiting for some one at the Chancellerie door. I told him to say that I had desired him to take that. He jumped into it, and set off at a brisk pace in the direction of the station. I never saw him more.

M. Bastide informed me to-day that it was his intention to remain at the head of the Foreign Department, at the request of General Cavaignac, but that all the other ministers would probably be changed. He seemed at that time to believe that the whole choice would continue with the general, after the state of siege should be ended; but I have since heard that it is the intention of the majority of the Assembly to revert to the original plan of appointing ministers themselves, and to continue Cavaignac at the head, but only as President of the Council. The fact is, though there is great confidence in Cavaignac's personal qualifications for such a moment as this, there is great distrust of many who, having been his patrons, would probably be his colleagues. The Assembly have a great dread of the dynasty of the "National" newspaper. Cavaignac is, I believe, a connexion of Armand Marrast's, its chief proprietor. Bastide was himself an assistant-editor of that paper; and, good as these men themselves are, the choice would probably be limited to the most concerted and un-

popular clique which ever claimed the monopoly of liberal opinions. At the same time it is very important that the chiefs of the ancient dynastic opposition, who have hitherto perhaps rather avoided their fair exercise of influence, should not, in consequence of these events, attempt too sudden a reaction. The best chance for the restoration of monarchical institutions in this country is that they should, for the present, accept the Republic with even more than their former sincerity. The great question in France still remains, not what shall be its present form of government, but whether there shall be *any government* determined to fulfil the duties of all governments in the maintenance of laws and rights. In the further progress of this struggle, it is very important that the party calling themselves moderate republicans should be thoroughly committed on this point. They should never again be able to traffic on the illusions of the working classes. Already much has been gained in this direction. The Socialist doctrine has been thoroughly exposed. It has been already proved that some limit must be placed to liberty, lest it become licence, tyrannising in its turn. The right of public meeting in the streets is taken away, at least exists only upon the previous sanction of authority. The clubs, I understand, are to be shut up; it is even admitted that there may be occasions when the liberty of the press must be completely annihilated. There never was a more arbitrary act

than the seizure of "La Presse," if the real ground was stated. The article in question was not desirable at such a moment, but its purport was a strong, and, one must add, in many respects a just, criticism upon the acts of the Provisional Government. There may have been some other reason for imprisoning M. Émile Girardin; but the whole measure would have had much more moral weight if it had not been attributed to a rivalry between two journalists.

What I have said above, as to the expediency of the representatives of the monarchical principle in this country keeping themselves perfectly quiet at present, of course would not apply to such a state of things as might be produced by the provinces declaring themselves for any plan of reaction; but at present one must recollect that the Republic is the first Government that has ever stood its ground after barricades were once established; and this circumstance, as the desire of the country is for order, and there is no personal attachment to give force to monarchical feeling, may, for the time, strengthen the Republic.

Cavaignac now is the man of the moment; his influence to-day is great. His future seems to me to depend upon the trite but oft-proved dictum—never more true than in this revolutionary crisis—that, "There is a tide in the affairs of men." If the Constitution passes quickly through the Assembly, he will probably be President,—provided always that he avails himself of some intervening opportu-

nity to show that, as a statesman, he has a political existence independent of that of the writers in the "National."

June 27. 10. A. M.

I found M. Bastide this morning at the hôtel of the President of the Chamber, the present residence of General Cavaignac, now head of the Executive Power. I mentioned to M. Bastide that, not being personally acquainted with the General, I should be glad if he would present me, and allow me to express my congratulations on the result, and the thanks of the friends of order in all countries, at the triumph his energy had obtained over the late anarchical attempt. The General received me very cordially, and said he was sure that in London, indeed everywhere, much satisfaction would be felt at the defeat of a party who aimed at the destruction of all society. I did not of course detain the General more than a few moments, knowing how much his time must be engrossed.

I am sorry to hear every hour fresh accounts of the barbarities committed by the insurgents upon those who fell into their hands; all tending to show that no savage tribe could have been more sure to abuse power, should they unhappily have obtained the upper hand.

Every one of the Garde Mobile — many of them lads from sixteen to eighteen — who were taken by them were frightfully mutilated. There were some striking instances of heroism, on the other hand, amongst the military force of every description, who had to struggle against every disadvantage of strongly fortified positions. The insurgents, it is asserted, were certainly directed by men who were not unpractised in the military art.

Last night, at twelve o'clock, our attention was aroused by much firing of musketry nearer than any which had yet been heard. The *alerte* was sounded and the cavalry bivouacking in the Champs Elysées were soon heard in motion. It appears that some hundreds of the prisoners confined in the Tuileries, contrived to seize the arms of some of the National Guards piled in the Place du Carrousel; after a sharp skirmish, about two hundred made their escape before the reinforcements came up.

To-day all appears perfectly quiet, and circulation in the streets has recommenced; but the language of the Government is that one must expect, for some days, to hear in various quarters of the effects of such a social disorganisation, as many of these desperate men will be wandering about the country. The National Guard from very remote distances are still arriving, with the intention of destroying the tyranny of the *canaille* of Paris.

June 28. 8 A.M.

I went to the Assembly last night. They met at eight o'clock, in order to discuss the law for the transportation of prisoners. The law was supported by an immense majority of the Chamber, in short only opposed by the Mountain; but they proposed a great variety of amendments, in order to postpone the decision, and when I left them they seemed likely to succeed, as, at twelve o'clock, they had only got through the first article. The important portion, and the most contested, was expected to be that in which was authorised the continuance of martial law with reference to certain classes of persons, and the power consequently to shoot them. It appears that yesterday afternoon there was a meeting of the Club of Representatives called "the Two Hundred," but which in point of fact command the majority of the Assembly; the question was discussed what was to be done about the Executive Government. Thiers and Berryer both spoke with great effect, but both declined to be named as ministers at present. The list they agreed upon contained the names of Vivien, formerly minister with Thiers, for the interior; Dufaure, his office not decided, but he would be very useful in the tribune; Drouhyn de l'Huys, Foreign Office. To this is added Lamoricière to the War Department. There are not

many very decided Republicans amongst them, but all profess to have no ulterior intentions. These colleagues are to be proposed to Cavaignac, and, if he assents to act with them, he will be left the temporary President. If he refuses, as is not unlikely, since he is a very sincere Republican, then no one can say what will happen. If Bastide goes, I shall regret him, as in these days a man of his word is invaluable.

There were two or three assassinations last night in this part of the town. I do not know whether any others occurred. A dragoon and two National Guards were, in different places, killed by shots fired by passengers.

The "Moniteur" of this morning gives a very different version of the death of the poor Archbishop of Paris, which the first paragraph announces as having taken place on Monday evening. As these details appear in this official paper, I suppose they are authorised by the Government, and meant to correct the impression attempted to be produced in the Assembly yesterday, of its being occasioned by a chance shot on the part of the troops.

The paragraph is to the following effect: —

"It was on Sunday that the Archbishop of Paris quitted his palace, at half-past five, and went straight to General Cavaignac, to ask him whether it would be permitted that he should go amidst the insurgents to carry counsels of peace and concilia-

tion. The General having received the prelate with every demonstration of respect, told him it was not for him to take upon himself to give advice under such circumstances; that no doubt such a step would be attended with very great danger; but at any rate he could not but feel grateful for such an offer, and he doubted not the population of Paris would do justice to the feeling which dictated it. The Archbishop then announced that his determination was taken. He returned to the palace to make some personal arrangements, and at eight o'clock he presented himself at the foot of the Column of the Bastille. It is by mistake that it has been asserted that the prelate had desired the co-operation of any member of the Assembly. The Archbishop, it is true, had received such offers, but declined them all. In his way to the Bastille, the Archbishop, with a placid calm, repeated the sacred text, ‘The Good Shepherd gives his life for his sheep.’ His two vicars alone accompanied him. The military authority immediately gave orders for the firing to cease. A branch of a tree had been gathered on the Boulevards, and with this emblem of peace alone preceding him, the prelate and his two assistants ascended the barricade, where a few minutes before the insurgents had received a flag of truce, to announce his intended arrival. The venerable prelate had only just had time to pronounce a few words of persuasive charity, when a single shot, which

touched no one, was fired, without any one being able to tell precisely whence it came. This shot, it appears, had excited much agitation amongst the insurgents. A volley was fired from their ranks: the Garde Mobile, upon this, returned their fire vigorously. The nature of the wound received by the Archbishop having evidently a downward direction, seemed to make it clear that the fatal shot must have proceeded from a window above. However this may be, the unfortunate prelate fell, having been wounded by a ball in the loins, and was lifted up by the insurgents, and carried into their quarters, to the house of the Curate of Quinze Vingts. He was attended by the surgeons belonging to the insurgents, and the next morning when the negotiations for a truce had been opened, he was placed upon a litter that he might be transferred to his palace. The passage of the procession, which, to every one present foreshadowed a funeral, caused demonstrations of general grief, which no one who witnessed it will ever forget.

“Every hour the state of the venerable prelate became worse. He had received the Communion before quitting St. Antoine, fearing he might breathe his last on the way. The night he was struck he had required of his Grand Vicar and attached friend, M. l'Abbé Jacquemel, to tell him the truth as to the state of his wound, and then, without the slightest emotion or love of life,

he offered unceasingly his pious prayers for France and her future. Not one other lingering thought for this world, its cares and its interests, ever passed his lips."

I have heard this morning another anecdote of the last moments of this martyr in the cause of Christian charity. He was escorted on his way from the Faubourg St. Antoine by a company of Gardes Mobiles, and recognising in one marching by the side of his litter and looking up in his face with melancholy interest, the countenance of a lad whom he had seen conducting himself with peculiar gallantry in the fight of which he had been an unwilling witness, he raised his arms, and, taking a little cross attached to a rosary of black beads, he gave it to the young soldier, and said, "Ne quitte pas cette croix, mets la sur ton cœur, cela le portera bonheur." The Garde Mobile, whose name was François de la Vignière, knelt down, and promised never to part with it.

I was delighted when Lady N. arrived last night, though I hardly expected she would be able to start before this morning; but she left Chantilly as soon as she received a pass from me, and a line to say I thought she would now be better in Paris, as there was no longer any danger there; while one cannot, for some time, be so sure that the country will be safe, as detached bands of insurgents are wandering about in the neighbourhood. Lady N. had no carriage, but came as far as the

station in the omnibus with twelve other persons ; she says they were mostly poor women coming up to Paris, in great anxiety, to inquire about their husbands and other relations who had not been heard of since the fighting. She also tells me that in all the neighbourhood of Paris she saw detachments of the Rural National Guard scouring the fields, as it was supposed many of the insurgents had taken refuge in the standing corn. Lady N. has shown on this, as on every other occasion since February, great presence of mind ; but the first occurrence after her return was not reassuring, as late last night two shots were distinctly heard at the bottom of our garden ; and, upon inquiry, I found that two National Guards had been assassinated there.

June 29.

I inquired of M. Bastide whether it was ascertained what amount of truth there was in the reports of cruelties said to have been committed by the insurgents. He replied he regretted to believe that there had been no exaggeration on that point. It was quite true that to many of the balls had been attached poisoned linen, which had caused death in many cases where the wound itself was

not mortal. The balls were also formed to make the worst possible wounds; sometimes with a piece of pointed brass stuck into them.

The decomposition of the bodies was also unusually rapid. A bundle of poisoned lint was taken to one of the hospitals; it was only upon seeing the agony it occasioned that it was examined by the surgeons, and found to have been steeped in some corrosive liquid. A pump was seized behind the Barrière Rochehonard, the reservoir of which was half-full of oil of vitriol, which these ruffians pumped in the faces of the attacking party. The story of the poisoned brandy, sold by the Cantiniers, was not confirmed; but it had not been at once contradicted, from authority, as it was calculated to prevent so much drunkenness at a moment when so many men from various parts are collected in Paris. All that has been said of the cruelties practised on the Garde Mobile is true. In one place they took four or five of these children, who had surrendered as prisoners, stuck a pike through their throat under the chin, tied their hands down, and, placing them in front of a window, fired between their legs, thinking the soldiers would not return the fire when they saw the Mobiles. They cut also off a head from one, filled the mouth with pitch, lighted a match in it, and danced round to the tune of *Les Lampions*. Having surprised a small Corps de Garde filled with Mobiles, they killed them all in cold blood; and some female

monsters amused themselves with cutting out their tongues and stringing them upon a cord.

One turns with some relief from these revolting details to instances where a common interest in the cause of civilisation and of order bound together members of different classes whose previous existence must have been of the most opposite character. Such was the joint action of the Marquis de la Ferté and a Garde Mobile against one of the most formidable barricades on the Boulevards. M. de la Ferté is, in stature, well fitted for a grenadier, and, before the abolition of the flank companies, had of course been a "Bonnet de poil;" he was now doing his duty as a private in the 1st legion of the National Guard; but no community of worsted lace could deprive him of that ineffacable stamp of a gentleman which marked his appearance. The Garde Mobile, mostly boys from fifteen to seventeen years of age, are all of the genus "Gamin de Paris," of which, however varied by individual qualities, the universal type is a mixture, more or less happy, of *insouciance* and *dash*.* The resistance from behind this monster barricade had somewhat slackened, though independent firing still occurred from the summit and the flank; there was also a pause on the side of the troops, probably waiting for reinforcements before attempting to storm it.

* This *entente cordiale* of epithets must be pardoned, as one word is as difficult to render accurately into English as the other is into French; yet both are equally characteristic.

M. de la Ferté found himself rather in advance, by the side of a little Garde Mobile, who had already fought gallantly. A red flag floated in defiance on the top of the barricade, when his companion, a boy fifteen years of age, addressed him, "Grand Garde National, veux-tu prendre ce drapeau à nous deux?" "Soit, petit Garde Mobile, avançons." They had run up two-thirds of the way, when the little fellow fell, wounded in the leg, and, looking piteously in the face of his gigantic companion, said, "Hélas! Grand Garde National, je n'aurai donc pas, moi, ce drapeau." "Si fait, petit Garde Mobile, tu l'auras." Gently raising him in his arms, he placed him on his shoulders, rushed up to the summit of the barricade, and amidst a general fire from its defenders, encouraged the wounded boy to stretch out his eager hand, seize the red flag, and wave it over his head with a feeling of pride which, for the time, banished pain and weakness. Thus they descended without further injury, M. de la Ferté, still bearing aloft his interesting burden, conveyed him to the rear for surgical aid, and the child-hero kept and clenched the trophy they had together won. There are reports of several fresh assassinations during the last four-and-twenty hours; but it is difficult to ascertain the accuracy of these rumours. The newspapers, naturally, endeavour to create as little alarm of this nature as possible. M. Bastide said that though he had been a republican from his youth,—it was, indeed, his political religion,—yet if it had been

merely a form of government for which they fought, he never would have shared the responsibility they had taken upon themselves; but their duty was imperative, since the whole framework of society was at stake.

The latest news is that Marie was elected President by a large majority over Dufaure, 414 to 297. This was almost inevitable in a Republican Assembly. It would have been very strange to have preferred an old minister of Louis-Philippe to the only one of the dictators of February whose character is quite unblemished.

5. P. M. :

The report which I had heard last night in the Chamber, of the Ministry proposed, turns out to have been premature; there has been considerable modification, in consequence of negotiation with Cavaignac. It has since been settled that Cavaignac is named President of the Council without portefeuille—in point of fact, temporary President of the Republic; that he shall have the nomination of the ministers, the choice being first settled with those who represented the majority of the Assembly. The list has in consequence been much changed, all the old ministers of Louis-Philippe being left out, which, at the present moment, I think an advantage. These new ministers will have many disagreeable things to do, and it is better not to use up more public reputa-

tions than necessary, as France is not at present very rich in public men.

The list now stands thus : Bastide, I am happy to say, remains at the Foreign Office ; Lamoricière, War ; Senard (the President), Interior ; Lacrosse, Marine ; Barthélémy St. Hilaire, Public Instruction ; Récurt, Public Works ; Bethmont remains Justice. There may be subsequent changes, as it has not yet been publicly announced. There are some men of energy amongst them ; but, as a whole, it does not look very promising : they were, as my informant told me, obliged to give way upon many points, because Cavaignac "c'est un homme très cassant ;" and, on the other side, *he* is indignant at having any names forced upon him. I am waiting anxiously for Bastide's answer to my note, which I suppose has been delayed by their having no Ministry ; but, in the meantime, the English complain much that they are subject to unjust suspicions, and are as anxious to get away as I am sure I am to get them off ; but there have been no passports delivered yet, and, the state of siege still continuing, one can make no objections to this delay.

An *employé* in the Ministère de l'Intérieur, who has been there for some time under different governments, told — yesterday, he knew for certain that, before five days were over, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Caussidière, Lagrange, and Louis Blanc would be in custody, and that before a month was passed, they would all be on their way

to the Marquesas. They say several Chartists and some Irish rebels have been shot. I should not be without fear that some of the *gobe-mouches* may have been mixed up with them. It is provoking to see the quantity of English who come over for a "lark" whenever they hear of what, in their happy ignorance of such events, they call "a row." The French, who do not believe in the extent of our idle curiosity, attribute some desire to meddle as the cause of these stormy petrels' flight. Even —, the other day, with all his own experience and his diplomatic pedigree, having attempted to force his way with a passport not regularly *visé*, had to wait in prison at St. Denis, till I could obtain his release.*

* All the horrors detailed above were repeated to me by persons who had been themselves engaged in the thickest of the struggle, and had, therefore, had painful experience of its savage character.

CHAP. XV.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH M. BASTIDE. — DEATH OF THE CHILD-HERO MARTIN. — PREPARATIONS FOR A RENEWAL OF THE FIGHT. — GALLANTRY AND DISCIPLINE OF THE GARDE MOBILE. — OBSEQUIES OF THE TROOPS AND NATIONAL GUARDS. — RETIREMENT OF M. CARNOT. — FUNERAL OF THE ARCHBISHOP. — ARREST OF COLONEL CONSTANTIN. — FEELINGS OF CAVAIGNAC TOWARDS LAMORICIÈRE AND CHANGARNIER. — ANNIVERSARY OF THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE. — PROGRAMME FROM THE CLUB OF REPRESENTATIVES. — DISCUSSION ON THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY. — APPEAL TO M. GOUDCHAUX IN BEHALF OF ENGLISH CONTRIBUTORS TO THE CAISSE D'ÉPARGNES.

July 1.

I HAVE been for the last two days confined to the house by rather a sharp attack of indisposition; all my communications with M. Bastide have therefore been necessarily in writing; but as he is still, at least for the time, Foreign Minister, I have sent to him the expression of my opinion that more than sufficient time has elapsed since I wrote to him on the 27th, to point out the practical inconveniences to which my countrymen were still exposed, by the aspersions to which they had been subject, in consequence of the imprudent language held by some of those in authority.

In the course of the evening I received an answer from M. Bastide. As a general disclaimer, on the part of the Government, of any unworthy suspicion, this letter is very complete in itself; it is also satisfactory in its professions of amicable dispositions, but it omits altogether any mention of the grounds upon which I had distinctly stated that I was alone induced to remonstrate, namely, the proclamation of the Mayor of Paris, attributing the disaffection to foreign agents, and the speech of a Minister, pointing out whose agents these were, by ascribing it to the "ill-will of a neighbouring country."

I therefore wrote another private note to M. Bastide, stating that I was quite satisfied with the spirit of his reply, but that there was an omission in it which, as it seemed to me, might be corrected by the publication with it of my letter to him. He had entirely left without mention the origin of my complaint. I had not combated any vague prejudice in the public mind, but had directly traced a dangerous mis-statement against my countrymen, caused by words uttered by his colleagues.

Placed side by side with my letter, his reply would be perfectly satisfactory; alone, it would certainly give an erroneous idea of the grounds on which I had taken this step.

I meant by this to show M. Bastide that I shall not require him to contradict his colleagues, except tacitly, by placing his assurances of confidence in

England in juxtaposition with the imputations of the others. I also preferred to put this suggestion in the shape of a private note, because if M. Bastide has difficulties with his colleagues, perhaps it would not be desirable to press him further on this collateral point. The disclaimer is complete, and a publication of the whole case is always a remedy which may be applied without difficulty; it appears due to the full vindication of the national character.

There is no doubt that, during all the first days of the insurrection, the language borrowed from their superiors by the subaltern authorities showed suspicion of the English, and made many suffer from the effects of that suspicion by petty annoyances which, when the town was in a state of siege, could not be made matter of complaint.

July 2.

So I hear poor little Martin, the child-hero of the hour, is dead. He was not wounded, like De la Ferté's friend, but had been decorated by Cavaignac for his gallant conduct in the hottest of the fight. The General took Colonel Charras' ribbon from his button-hole, and gave it to the poor boy, who only said, "Oh! how happy this will make my

father." He had an opportunity of showing it to his parent, and receiving his blessing, and has since died under strong symptoms of poison ; it is said, mixed in some cigars, which had been given him.

July 3.

I have not been able to go out of the house for the last three days, which has kept me less well informed than usual ; I am better to-day, and trust I shall be about again to-morrow. Molé, with whom I have kept on the most intimate terms ever since the Revolution of February, has also been confined, by a sore-throat, or I have no doubt he would have brought me some news. I am happy to hear that his election for Bordeaux is now considered certain. He will be very useful in the Assembly, to encourage the timid and moderate the impatient. The Republic, with a view to the tranquil stability of the change, whatever it may be, must still be left to undo much it has done since February. It would not yet be satisfactorily replaced by any other form of government. And being now in a fair way to suppress mobs, clubs, and incendiary papers, no one ought to interfere with it till it has done all that, and perhaps something more. I understand Changarnier says privately that, on his way up from Marseilles, he could

not find any one who liked the Republic; yet, that the affair is still so well organised at Paris, and in some of the large towns, that any attempt to change it at present would lead to a fearful civil war. I was told by my friend Roger, yesterday, who was in all the thickest of the fight, that everywhere, even in the "Banlieux," the feeling of all the lower classes was on the side of the insurgents, even where they did not openly join them. The *ouvriers* have been thoroughly corrupted as a body in Paris, by the doctrines that have been so long circulated as to their rights.

The best chance of safety for the country is, that this feeling is not all shared by the peasants, who, from the subdivision of property, have almost all their little plots of ground, and who, therefore, are furiously opposed to the doctrines of Communism, and thence the arrival from all parts of the country of such a succession of Provincial National Guards. I am glad to be able to say that the upper classes here, who were supposed to have shown great want of moral courage in resisting the progress of revolution, did, when the decisive moment arrived, and they felt all was at stake, fight heroically through the four days, without any distinction of party, from the "Noailles" down to Clément Thomas.

July 3.

Here, in the "Moniteur" of this morning, is an account, inserted by the Foreign Office, of what passed between M. Bastide and myself, upon the subject of the aspersions uttered in the Assembly against the English Government and people.

"Paris, le 2 Juillet, 1848.

"Les insinuations portées à la tribune de l'Assemblée Nationale contre un pays voisin par un des membres du dernier Gouvernement, ayant justement ému M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, S. Exe. a cru devoir protester énergiquement, par une note adressée au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, en date du 27, contre toute application possible de ces paroles au Gouvernement et au peuple Anglais, dont la loyauté et le caractère repoussent d'eux-mêmes de semblables atteintes. Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, appréciant la noble susceptibilité de Lord Normanby, a répondu par la lettre que nous reproduisons ici.

*"Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, à S.E.
Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.*

"MILORD,

"Mon opinion et celle de mon Gouvernement est que le Gouvernement de S. M. la Reine est trop loyal pour avoir pris aucune part d'excitation dans les affreux événements de Paris. Je ne vois nul inconvénient à ce que vous donniez à cette

déclaration, à même temps qu'à votre note, toute la publicité que vous jugerez convenable. Je le verrais même avec d'autant plus de plaisir que ce sera une nouvelle preuve des sentiments réciproques de bonne amitié que animent les deux Gouvernements.

“ J'ai l'honneur d'être, Milord,”

Votre tout dévoué,

(Signed)

“ JULES BASTIDE.”

I think that the paragraph with which M. Bastide has preceded the publication of his letter is in every way satisfactory to us. The objection felt to the publication of the whole of my note was, I understand, confined to the insertion, in an official journal here, of any allusion to the proceedings of a functionary still in office. M. Bastide preferred publishing his second and more personal acknowledgment of the first official letter, as he justly thought it was the one which most nearly expressed the loyal sentiments which have animated him in this affair.

July 4.

The calm which has succeeded to the deadly struggle of last week, does not on either side partake of the character of confidence in the future. Preparations are already making for a renewal of the fight. On the side of order they consist in a very large increase of the Garrison of Paris,

with one or more camps in the neighbourhood; discussions with the most scientific of the engineering corps on new plans of attack against the barricades; and continual search for arms. On the side of the anarchists, I believe little has yet been actually done; discouraged as they still are by their late signal defeat, they feed their angry passions by inventing projects of revenge, and endeavouring to extend their influence over the whole of the working population, who, I am afraid, listen but too readily to them. There have, moreover, been several cases of individual assassination, particularly of sentinels; and the day before yesterday seventeen men were found in a cellar in the Faubourg St. Antoine, already occupied in casting bullets for another occasion. I am told, too, that in many of the hospitals, where wounded insurgents are placed in the same ward with National Guards, the imprecations of the former are of the most odious description against their fellow-sufferers. With so desperate a race, still bent on mischief, it is impossible not to foresee further scenes of bloodshed and misery; but I feel convinced, myself, that that party will never again enter upon the contest with such chances of success as they had last time: this Government is not likely to waste such precious hours in inaction as when the barricades were allowed to be constructed without interference on the part of the late Executive Commission. The Committee of Inquiry guard, as yet, the

secret of their discoveries ; but those about General Cavaignac speak with great bitterness of some of the members of that Executive Commission. On the other hand, they say the General had over-rated, in his report to them, the amount of troops in Paris. This had been stated as high as 30,000 men, whereas, when the contest began, there really were not actually in Paris more than 8000 troops of the line. A considerable minority of the National Guards were either with the insurgents or would take no part against them.

As a body, the Bourgeoisie were not found to be good for a second day. They rushed in with great impetuosity at the first barricades, but when they had left there some of their friends and neighbours dead behind them, and had returned to their families to tell their story, they did not reappear with such good heart, and some of the general officers state that all they could do was to preserve a show with their battalions.

Still it is right to say, that amongst the young men of society acting as privates in the National Guard there were acts of heroism which would have done credit to the most warlike times. To the gallantry and discipline of the Garde Mobile was principally owing, during the first six-and-thirty hours of the insurrection, the preservation of society from the greatest danger which it ever ran since the inroad of the ancient barbarian tribes. This body of boys, who were only four

months since some of the wildest amongst the Gamins de Paris, had in the interval been drilled into the most perfect military discipline ; another proof that a Frenchman is, above all other things, a soldier by nature. It was, perhaps, not without its effect upon their future conduct, that in the disappointment, at what they considered as defection from their cause, the insurgents exercised atrocious cruelties upon the first of these youths who fell into their power. Through the whole of the four days, the Garde Mobile fought with fury on the side of order.

On the Saturday morning, when I sought M. Bastide at the Assembly, I thought his language, both in the Tribune and to me personally, was more desponding than I could account for : he said, however, that he felt no one of them could retain any confidence in the probability of their living to the end of the day. I have since heard that throughout the whole of that day, General Cavaignac thought it his duty to do his utmost to preserve his footing in Paris to the last, but the loss was so great, particularly of officers, that, unless more troops speedily arrived, he expected to be driven out of it. More than half of the geographical extent of Paris, and much the most populous portion, was then in the power of the insurgents ; and it was not till the simultaneous arrival of cannon from Bourges and from Lafere, that the General felt again confident as to the result. That result

was in no small degree produced by the judicious measure of stopping all circulation throughout the town, and allowing no one to pass without an order.

The real advantage obtained by this victory, as guarding against the prospect of any speedy renewal, is the seizure of above 100,000 muskets; while the moral strength on the side of permanent opposition to these Communist doctrines in the large towns is, not only the restored position of the army, but the opposing spirit of all the peasantry of France, who cling to their small properties and their family ties.

Something, however, is still brewing here. Mysterious signals from the tops of houses, in different parts of the town by coloured lamps are nightly seen; and another large manufactory of bullets has been discovered.

In the meantime, the attitude assumed by the Government, both with regard to the *Ateliers Nationaux* and the treatment of the finance questions, had yesterday the effect of somewhat reviving confidence in the moneyed interests.

July 6.

I was this morning witness from a window in the Place de la Concorde of the religious ceremony which there took place in the open air, in honour of the troops and National Guards killed in the late in-

surrection. The name of the locality associated strangely with the fate of those who had fallen in resisting one of the most desperate attacks upon all the social relations which this age has witnessed. I could not forget that only six weeks since, on the very same spot, I had beheld the so-called *Fête de la Fraternité*, in which had been collected the victors and the vanquished in the late contest, in order that they might vow an eternal fellowship in the cause of the Republic: those who had then summoned them, the founders and the supposed protectors of that Republic, were now discarded and discredited under the suspicion of conspiracy against that Assembly, which, as the emanation of the national will, they had themselves created.

The weather was magnificent, and the chanting had a good effect in the fine still atmosphere; but the ceremony was not as impressive as its melancholy object might have led one to expect. With very few favoured exceptions, there was no one within the whole amphitheatre except the Assembly, the authorities, and the military; and the troops, from the constant service required of them elsewhere, were only in sufficient numbers for security, and made no effect whatever as military display.

There was also a general uneasiness in every one's mind, in consequence of the alteration of the programme, which, instead of including a procession to the *Place de la Bastille*, was to end at the Made-

leine. This change was made, professedly on account of the vaults under the column of July not being ready, but the idea was universal that it was in consequence of the timely discovery of some plot connected with the passage of the Boulevards; this has been variously stated to me, as having consisted of an infernal machine for the destruction of the members of the Assembly, or, as having been limited to the attempts of some marksmen, from the windows of the houses, to pick out Cavaignac and others of the principal Generals as they passed. I do not give implicit credit to either story upon general rumour. It is sufficient to account for its currency that the original plan has been changed for no particular reason, and that there are, at this moment, many thousand desperados in Paris, who would not shrink from any means, however horrible or hazardous, of attempting a signal revenge. Those who were much nearer to General Cavaignac than I was, were struck with his peculiarly careworn and anxious aspect. To be the leading figure in such a melancholy group, was certainly enough to affect the outward appearance of so good and honest a man, who, in the triumph of his opinions, must have found the destruction of many of his illusions.

July 6.

I have hitherto not attempted any estimate of the number of persons killed and wounded on both sides during the late contest, because I have heard such widely different statements, that I found it impossible to believe any of them to be more than either careless speculations or intentional misrepresentation. The common rumour varied from ten to twenty thousand. Members of the Government assure me that the killed and wounded on both sides are under *three* thousand. This is, on the other hand, a limitation quite incredible. As while in all cases of successful revolution there has been a desire to exaggerate the numbers of the martyrs ; so in this instance the great object is to diminish as much as possible the loss sustained. Of the insurgents no accurate calculation can be made, as numbers were certainly thrown into the river, and some are daily found dead in the fields and in the suburbs, particularly on the side of Romainville, and all the country outside the Barrière du Trône. It is stated this morning, in "La Gazette des Tribunaux," generally an authority in these matters, that, between prisoners taken in the fight and arrests made subsequently, the Government have now 12,000 persons in confinement for this affair. It seems unlikely that this number of desperate men should have allowed themselves to be taken

without a greater previous loss in killed and wounded than the official estimate* Having been confined to the house for some days by temporary indisposition, I had not, until yesterday, been over the whole of the scene of action; but when one sees whole streets in which every house is covered with thickly scattered marks of shots, and buildings of every description shaken to pieces by cannon-ball one feels that this cannot have gone on for four days without great loss of life. I had formed no idea of the fierceness of the contest till I had seen the effects, still apparent over a very large portion of the town. As I drove slowly through the Rue St. Antoine, and along the Boulevards, I saw many of my countrymen gaping about, and apparently obtruding their questions upon the inhabitants of that quarter, who are exceeding unwilling to be forced to revert to recent events. Many seemed pointing their inquiries as to the conflict and the condition of the battered and ruined habitations, just as they would inform themselves, through paid cicerones, as to the state of ancient ruins. It is

* Reports derived from authentic sources of information, though not from official authority, have since been published, which place the loss in killed and wounded at 16,000,—8000 prisoners taken. The pecuniary loss caused by loss of work, ruin of families, and destruction of lives and property, which it is not so easy to estimate exactly, has been roughly calculated at 30,000,000 of francs, or 1,200,000*l*. How many distressed families would this sum have fed, if otherwise distributed! It would appear as if the erection of barricades were a more costly luxury than the building of palaces.

this national want of tact that makes us so unpopular. All over the Continent the inquisitive propensities of the travelling Anglo-Saxon are misunderstood. Simply curious, they often get the reputation of mischievous meddling. I never could understand why the Englishman, so silent and reserved at home, considers, when once abroad, that foreigners (thereby meaning all beyond his insular limits) are created solely for his holiday recreation. I remember, in quieter times, many a travelling Bull, who before he has been four-and-twenty hours in a place, has found some one whom he can invite, in a vocabulary peculiarly his own, to read tracts, to copy the British Constitution, and to resist that unbearable oppression which he has been good enough already to resent on his unconscious hearer's behalf.

I mentioned already that the result, too long doubtful, of the bloody fight was much owing to that judicious measure of stopping all circulation throughout the town. It is now known that the conspirators in this district and others were waiting for orders from the combatant chiefs, as to when they were to rise and make a diversion which was to have given them the command of the Place de la Concorde, and thence of the Assembly. Yesterday, the plans were formed for this joint action in the house of one of the leaders. Two isolated attempts were made in this immediate neighbourhood, to commence the barricades just before martial law was

proclaimed, but they were successfully prevented by the activity of the 1st legion of the National Guard.

The adoption of the amendment in the House of Assembly yesterday, which has caused the retirement of M. Carnot from the Ministry of Public Instruction, was a great and unexpected triumph of the moderate party. The particular point which brought on this result had reference to a little work called, "Manuel républicain de l'Homme et du Citoyen-public, sous les auspices du Ministre de l'Instruction publique." To this attention was called by M. Bonjean, who made some extracts. It was written in the form of a dialogue between master and scholar, and had evidently a tendency to circulate what are called Socialist doctrines through the rural districts. To quote one citation only:—"Existe-il au moins des moyens d'empêcher les riches d'être oisifs, et les pauvres d'être mangés par les riches?" "Oui, il en existent et d'excellents. Les directeurs de la République trouveront ces moyens aussitôt qu'ils voudront sincèrement pratiquer la Fraternité." Though this little manual, supported and circulated by the Minister Carnot, was the immediate cause of the discussion, it was agreed on both sides that the vote of a small reduction in the credit demanded should be considered as marking either confidence or censure as to the whole conduct of this minister, including his famous circular as to the elections; and after an

agitated sitting, blame was implied by a majority of 11 : — 314 to 303.

It is to be hoped this may operate as a salutary warning to General Cavaignac, who is too much in the hands of what is called the Coterie du National. I am afraid, however, that the appointment of M. Vaulabelle, unless he has modified some of his former opinions, is not likely to please those who have caused the removal of M. Carnot.

July 7.

The feelings of that man, who could without profound emotion have assisted at the scene from which I have just returned, must have been absorbed by selfishness or casehardened by sin. Denis Affre, late Archbishop of Paris, has just received the last earthly honours in the cathedral of Notre Dame : the situation of that venerable edifice is, as is well known, in the crowded centre of Paris, which has latterly been one of the strongest holds of the insurrection. Having attended early to occupy the place allotted to me amongst my colleagues in the chancel, I cannot say whether there was a large attendance in the line of the procession ; but in the neighbourhood of the cathedral very many houses were closed ; and bullet-

marks round the empty windows showed that the inhabitants had borne an active part in the struggle which had been so fatal to the illustrious victim of whom his friends and neighbours were now to take a melancholy farewell. In the nineteenth century, what a condemnation of the social state of a country which boasts its progress and its civilisation, that the troops who were collected to do honour to the mortal remains of the first Minister of Religion had all been provided with extra rounds of ball-cartridge! Yet such I believe to have been the case; and indeed, a contrary course would, in the present state of the capital, have been an unpardonable want of due precaution. This was the first reunion, as a body, of the Corps Diplomatique who had all been accredited to Louis-Philippe, and who had since remained unofficially to conduct international relations. And this was the spectacle at which Europe assisted, through her representatives, as the result of abstinence from any sort of interference in the internal affairs of the French people—a line that had very properly been universally adopted. To some who had been till now not disinclined to follow the example of France, it might well operate as a useful and timely lesson. The people, in the sense of the masses, had been appealed to by the authors of the revolution, and not without success, to contribute three months' misery, towards the establishment of a fraternal republic, and we have

now arrived at the termination of the fourth month of aggravated misery, and it has been thus celebrated!

Six hundred years had elapsed since this solemn temple had first been devoted to the service of God; and, even in the traditions of the most barbarous times, never had its religious history been connected with any fact so full of reproach and remorse to the surrounding population as the present sad ceremony.

The exposure, under any circumstances, of the lincaments of a corpse is apt to shock our Protestant habits; but, in this instance, the impressive effect was increased by the sight of the calm and benign features of the venerable prelate, from which all trace of pain and suffering had passed away, and on which the hand of Death had not yet left its mark. It would, indeed, be presumption to indicate an imitation of the Divine doctrine of Atonement in the acts or the sacrifices of erring man; but here was at least a worthy disciple of his great Master, who, starting upon his fatal errand, had said, "The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep:" and may his expiring prayer be heard, and his be the last blood shed in France under similar circumstances! He stood between the living and the dead—himself, alas! to be numbered with the latter—and the plague was stayed; for it was in the last volley fired from the stronghold of the insurgents that this self-devoted victim fell.

July 8.

General Cavaignac yesterday declared to the Assembly that, in spite of the painful responsibility which such an unusual measure imposes upon himself, he is determined, from a conviction of the necessity of the case, to maintain the state of siege in Paris for some time longer.

This indefinite announcement could only have been dictated by a conviction that there was still much cause for well-founded alarm in the social state of the metropolis. It would have been the desire of so sincere a republican as I believe General Cavaignac to be, that the establishment of a form of government taking for its device, "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité,"* should not be left to develop itself in the unrestrained exercise of arbitrary power, necessitated by civil discord and popular odium.

The disposition of the working classes in Paris is represented to me as embittered to a degree which threatens some desperate attempt; but as to any political danger, I have great confidence in the effect of the wholesale seizure of arms which has taken place. A single circumstance is announced in the journals of this morning, which I have not

* M. Viennet, a wit and an *ancien pair*, thus explained the sense of the Republican motto soon after the Revolution : —

" Liberté de mourir de faim ;
Égalité en misère ;
Fraternité de Cain."

yet had an opportunity of tracing to its source. It is said that Colonel Constantin has been arrested. He was Under Secretary of the War Department during the first period after the Revolution; was supposed to be the author of the measure which put so many general officers upon the retired list; was employed only two days ago upon one of the courts martial for the trial of prisoners; and now is said to have been arrested, upon the accusation of many of the insurgents connected with the Faubourg St. Antoine, in which he himself resides, for having personally instructed them in the erection of the barricades. This sounds a very improbable story; but as the arrest is announced in the Government papers, I suppose that at least must be accurate.

The whole treatment of M. Émile de Girardin, proprietor of the "Presse," still remains without the slightest explanation. The capricious suppression of this paper, as also of the "Assemblée Nationale," a journal of immense circulation, which had always combated on the side of order, came with peculiar ill-grace from a Government most of the members of which are connected with the "National," a paper of extreme opinions, written with great talent, but which has never been fortunate enough to command that substantial proof of success — an extensive sale.

July 10.

Bastide told me this morning, that, in council yesterday, he had pressed much upon Cavaignac and his colleagues the importance of acting in accord with England upon all foreign affairs, and particularly upon everything relating to Italy. He added that he was happy to say there seemed a general agreement in these views. He then said it would be important for them to keep up the state of siege for some time longer. It would be necessary to shoot several of the leaders of the late insurrection. He alluded with great pain to the case of Constantin, who appears to have been the most double-dyed villain of the whole lot. He had been sitting in judgment upon hundreds of these poor degraded instruments whom he had deluded, and was actually removed in custody from the court martial where he was presiding, upon the charge of having himself directed the construction of the barricades. Bastide seems to think he must infallibly be shot, and certainly no example could be less regretted. By Bastide's account, it appears that, in the bureau, they have got into such long metaphysical discussions as to the principles of government, that it will be very long before the Constitution will be debated in the Assembly. As to himself, nothing is yet settled. He told me that he had a plan which seemed not unlikely to meet the views of all parties, that they should

find some one else, probably an admiral, for the Marine; that he should remain at the Foreign Office, and that Bedeau should go as Ambassador to London. Bedeau would do very well for that post; he is, by all accounts, an agreeable gentleman-like man, a giver and an enjoyer of good dinners. Should he, on the contrary, come to the Foreign Office, Bastide assures me that I should find him imbued with the same pacific policy as himself.

There is, I understand, a house kept by a Frenchwoman, married to an Irishman, where all the rebel Paddies "most do congregate," and they continue to talk among themselves of the confidence expressed in Ireland of being able to do something serious after the harvest. They also say at this house that, with regard to French emissaries, they find a great facility in avoiding the provisions of the Alien Act by going to Dover by the night packet, when the officer who should examine them is always *in bed*. This seems a strange story, but may be more worthy of belief as it comes from a source where it is treated not as a complaint, but as a benefit.

It is right to mention, with reference to Bastide's communications about himself, that to-morrow an effort will be made to remove him by that party who wish to weed the Government of all the "National" clique. I think that, personally, he would be a great loss, as we could have no one with more

friendly feelings towards England. Cavaignac will not give him up without a struggle.

July 12.

The "Moniteur" of this morning contains two proposed decrees, read yesterday in the Assembly by the Minister of the Interior: one for the restriction of the press, the other for the regulation of clubs. Both are certainly rendered necessary by the existing state of society here; but they are likely, when discussed, to bring forth a further difference of opinion amongst the republican party.

The decree proposed as to the press revives the old system, abolished by the Revolution of February, of a "cautionnement," or security to be given before any new paper is established. This is likewise to apply to the continuance of those at present in existence. The sum required is certainly less than under the Monarchy, but the deposit of 24,000 francs (1000*l.*) for every daily paper to be published in Paris, would be a very difficult condition for some of the literary adventurers who have started ephemeral publications since February. The decree as to the clubs — whilst professing, as every republican government is obliged to do, the greatest abstract partiality for unlimited discussion

and right of meeting — declares that no club shall be open without previous notification to the authorities, and without receiving their assent, which is never to be given except on these conditions: that places are to be reserved for a police functionary, who may at any time require that a discussion which he thinks objectionable shall be stopped, in order that he may insist upon its being inserted in a *procès-verbal*. Publicity is also ensured by requiring that one-fourth of the places shall be reserved for persons who are not members. A *procès-verbal* is required to be kept by the bureaux of everything that passes, for the information of the Government; and the president and secretaries are liable to fine and imprisonment for having allowed anything to pass to which legitimate objection can be taken as seditious, or for omitting to record it against themselves.

These are, I think, summarily the provisions of the two decrees which I heard read yesterday, and which are to-day given in the “*Moniteur*.”

The little society which still exists in Paris has been working itself into unusual uneasiness about Friday next, the 14th, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, which, it is rumoured, has been fixed upon for some deadly catastrophe. One report, really believed in some quarters where one would expect such causes of alarm to be scouted, is that a *great part* of Paris has been mined, and that we are all to be blown up. Certainly, after what has

happened, one only expects people to limit their speculations within the range of possibility, but here they seem to go quite beyond any such bounds. Another project is said to be, that bands are to make descents upon those parts of the town where they are least expected, with hand-grenades and other combustibles, and burn and pillage before the troops can be collected in sufficient numbers to resist them. This is obviously a brilliant device that could not be very often repeated; but one must make some allowance for a little stretch of imagination on these points, in a society which literally now has no other subject of conversation except when or what will be its next danger. This is certain, that the exasperation amongst the working classes increases daily, and I am afraid their misery keeps pace with it, and in part accounts for it. The groups, too, at the outskirts of the faubourgs, have begun again to collect, and women went about yesterday, crying out, "Bread, or more barricades!" I have not been out myself as much as usual, as I do not get well as fast as I could wish, and therefore am obliged to take care of myself; but I yesterday drove to the Bois de Boulogne, to see Lamartine, who has taken a house there, and who has also been ill. I found him looking very much altered, evidently much affected by his present position, though talking of it as the result of popular injustice, which he should survive. He went over the old ground with me, of the reasons for his con-

nection with Ledru-Rollin. I had seen no cause, certainly, to change the opinion I had given him upon this subject, when it might have been of use to him; but I did not feel it so necessary now to enter at all into the question. His opinion, as to the prospects of the Republic, is that there will be nothing at present in the shape of another general battle in the streets, though there may be attempts at vengeance on the part of the "ouvriers," but that in about three months, — when the Constitution is settled,—there will be a political fight in the streets unexampled in severity, as the result of conflicts in the Chamber. This is his present opinion; but as he was not very prescient when in power, I do not know why he should be more so from this rural retreat.

The worst indication I have lately heard as to the permanence of the present state of things is a growing jealousy, on the part of Cavaignac, of both Lamoricière and Changarnier. This opinion is now so general that I note it down, though without answering for its accuracy. Cavaignac, it is said, already repents having placed Lamoricière at the War Department; not that he could have done otherwise, for, after all, Lamoricière was the man who settled the business. He had all the hard fighting, and what with encouraging the troops and swearing at the Deputies, who thought they might, as delegates, interfere with his plans, he succeeded at last. Many a self-sufficient Solon, decked in the

scarf of a representative, intruded his opinion upon military tactics, whom the harassed and energetic general snubbed without any regard to his being an atom of his Sovereign Assembly.

It was by disregarding base advice for a capitulation fatal to all authority, that he carried the Faubourg St. Antoine, which was thought to be impregnable, so strongly had it been fortified by Constantin and other military renegades. According to gossip in the army, Cavaignac's only personal interference in the details was not a very successful piece of generalship. At the Pont St. Michel he advanced a *single* gun, inefficiently guarded, and, telling the commanding officer to take the bridge, rode off. As soon as the gun was fired, the insurgents stormed and took it. Old General Castellane, who had been put upon half-pay by these people, went about chuckling at this result, saying, none but an African general, who knew nothing about cannon, because the Arabs have none, could have made such a mistake. This circumstance was probably not lost upon Lamoricière, and, as Cavaignac knows that he and Changarnier are "rien moins que Républicains," a feeling of distrust has, it is said, grown up amongst them. On the other hand, I think it will not come to a downright quarrel, as they are necessary to each other, particularly if Cavaignac has any intention of really acting upon an indiscreet declaration of his, the other day, to some of those about him. It appears that, harassed by the dif-

ficulties of the position, he said : — “ If this continues, though I do not desire war, il faut la chercher quelque part.”

July 14.

Bastide is more of a sincere Republican than most of them in home politics ; but I am sure his great desire is to remain on good terms with England, and conduct his foreign relations, as much as possible, in concert with us. He told me there never was anything like the absurdity of the conduct of that Committee on Foreign Affairs, in the Assembly. Their love of meddling, he says, is carried to a point which would render it impossible to transact any business with foreign countries ; but he seems to have resisted them with great firmness, and to have decided not to give any answer at all to some delicate questions which were asked before five-and-forty members, three or four of whom were journalists.

Nothing has as yet happened to realise those apprehensions as to the events of this day which have latterly been so universal in Paris.

Extensive precautions were suddenly taken during the night, but no actual attempt explained against what they were intended. When M. Bastide was with me this morning, he men-

tioned that great fermentation prevailed in many parts of the town, particularly about the Faubourg du Temple. He thought it was not unlikely, before the end of the day, that something might happen which would again require a severe lesson, but that they had taken measures which would, this time, secure its being effectual.

I myself never thought any insurrection would take place on a day so long proclaimed as this; a short-lived alarm was created last night. A friend of Lady N.'s, Mrs. —, had left her little girl at a convent at Chaillot, off the Champs Elysées, and she had promised to take the child in here in case of danger. One of the nuns came to say that the Curé of the parish, who knew most of the *émeutiers* of that part of the town, had recommended them to leave their convent, as it was quite true that one of their plans was to break into the schools and convents, and take the children and young people as hostages. We could not entirely disregard a warning coming from such a source, and given on the eve of the day which had long been announced as the destined date of all the most horrible attempts. The poor nuns begged so hard that at least some of them should be allowed to accompany their little charge, with other *pensionnaires* in their establishment, to whom we had promised protection, and to share with her the assured safety the Embassy afforded, that preparations were made in the large ball-room, whose use had been suspended

by the Revolution. And had not the apparently well-founded panic passed away, there these holy recluses might have reposed, safe from the threatened dangers of their permanent retreat, and undisturbed by any visions of those worldly pleasures to which their temporary refuge had hitherto been appropriated.

July 17.

There is a mode of accounting for the tranquillity of last Friday, that I have heard from more than one source, which, if true, is far from satisfactory. It appears that, at the commencement of the last outbreak, in June, some of the Montagnards in the Chamber, and some of the chiefs of Sobrier's "Club des Clubs," offered to the Executive, on certain conditions, to prevent the movement. Lamartine is said by some to have been for treating, but Cavaignac then prevented it, and the fight went on. These same parties are supposed to have tried again on Thursday last, and then to have been listened to by the Government, and the result was, the mischief was postponed in consequence of some representation about the prisoners. What this alleged bargain exactly was, I cannot, as yet, find out. It may have been merely that these persons, of their own accord, told the chiefs, that another insurrec-

tion would have a very bad effect upon the fate of their comrades now in confinement; and then the evils would be limited to the fact that leaders are recognised, and yet not arrested; but if they carried from the Government anything like a promise as to the treatment of those already in prison, as the price of their forbearance, that would, indeed, be such a proof of weakness as would give one the worst opinion for the future. There is, on the other hand, a curious programme from the Club of Representatives, sitting at the Palais National, which is the most democratic of the two into which the Assembly is divided: they protest they do not mean to make any distinction between the Republicans of the "eve" and of the "morrow," and this is signed by most of the persons concerned in the "National," and is a disclaimer of the whole line taken by that paper ever since February.

I have heard again a rumour of the possibility of different Departments setting up for themselves. For myself I do not think they are yet sufficiently cured of the innate and natural vanity of "une et indivisible" to attempt anything of the kind, though the Gironde is every day becoming more openly anti-republican. Molé's election is quite certain there, and I can see Bastide is uneasy about the spirit shown in Alsace, and thinks the German nationality is working there against French connexion.

July 21.

Nothing particular has occurred as to home affairs, but in the meantime the Government are much embarrassed by the prolonged discussion still continued, on the question of Italy, in the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and I hardly expect to hear anything further from M. Bastide, in continuation of his former communication, until the decision of the Committee is known.

Not that I think one need necessarily infer from its report, either the course which the Government will pursue, or the opinion of the Assembly. It is well to remember how these Committees upon different matters were arranged: the members, who considered that they had a *spécialité* for any particular department of public affairs, had their names down for the Committee which had a connexion with this favourite subject, and up to a certain number the Committee was formed of the names first inscribed. These are naturally the most active critics in foreign affairs, who act either spontaneously from sentiment, or are forced forward in a struggle for personal notoriety, and form, in point of fact, the war party in the Assembly. This, I have hitherto had every reason to believe, is but a small minority of that body; but until the Government is pledged to some line, their course might any day be changed

by the preponderating balance of embarrassments which surrounds them.

July 22.

It is said that Cavaignac has decided that there shall not be any execution of the prisoners now in confinement for the days in June. It will excite great dissatisfaction in the National Guards and a portion of the army, if a double-dyed traitor, like Constantin, and the murderers of General Bréa, escape. There has been a very current report, these last two days, that Armand Marrast is intended to be sent Ambassador to England when the Constitution is settled; and that his election as President of the National Assembly was only with a view to give him position enough for such an appointment. This would be a very ridiculous selection in their own interest; otherwise, I do not suppose it would much signify to us; but I can hardly believe it. It is true, he is a great friend both of Cavaignac and Bastide. When Bastide last spoke to me upon the subject of the Ambassador to England, he mentioned Bedeau, who would be an excellent choice; but I am sorry to hear that his wound has, within these last few days, assumed an unfavourable appearance. The number who have died amongst

those who were not thought in danger is extraordinary, and would seem to lend horrible signification to the saying of the insurgents, who repeated, "The dead are dead, but the wounded will never be well."

July 23.

Again I made an appeal to the new Finance Minister, upon the subject of my countrymen who were still kept out of the money which they had entrusted to the Caisse d'Épargnes. Here is my appeal to M. Goodchaux:—

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

"I am induced to address myself to you directly, in consequence of a conversation I have had with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the money belonging to English contributors to the Caisse d'Épargnes, who have been obliged to quit France since February last.

"I have to request your kind and immediate attention to the case of these poor people; and I will not trouble you further than by a reference to the correspondence which has already taken place on the subject, from which you will perceive that it is now four months since a distinct promise was given by M. Lamartine and M. Garnier-Pagès, that, considering the peculiar hardship in which

they, as foreigners, were placed by events from which they could derive no benefit, the deposits should be immediately repaid in specie.

"I was gratified to learn from M. Bastide, that since the Finance Department had been confided to your hands, you appeared inclined to listen favourably to my just application; and I have the rather to request that no further delay may take place, as I should be very unwilling that the non-fulfilment of this promise should become the subject of a disagreeable discussion in the British Parliament; the Government having been already more than once questioned as to the cause of delay in that which they had every right to consider as already settled.

"I hope the circumstances to which I have alluded will induce you, Monsieur le Ministre, to excuse my troubling you with this direct application in the midst of your arduous official labours.

"I am, &c. &c."

It is true, with reference to the case of general compensation, that sufficient care has not always been taken in England in making out claims which I could press upon the attention of the French Government with much justice or with the slightest chance of success. A certain *I. L.*, for instance, claimed his fare by the railroad from London to Leeds, with extra charge for luggage; this was a demand for compensation which from the French

Provisional Government could hardly meet with serious attention, as there was no pretence of any special engagement that *I. L.* should be sent back free of cost to his native domicile.

I have to regret that in several cases the apparent impunity with which individuals seem to have thought dishonest claims could be urged, has very much increased the difficulty of procuring compensation for that larger number of really deserving persons who were most cruelly used during the late tumults, and whose case was in every respect *worthy* of the general sympathy and compassion it has excited.

CHAP. XVI.

CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION. — LOUIS NAPOLEON AGAIN DECLINES OFFICE. — THE LAW AGAINST CLUBS. — M. FLOCON THE CHAMPION OF "LES FEMMES." — M. THIERS IN THE ASSEMBLY. — MADAME C. AND THE IRISH CONSPIRATORS. — M. PROUDHON'S PROPOSITION. — GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION OF M. ÉMILE GIRARDIN. — SUPPRESSION OF THE JOURNALS SUGGESTED. — GENERAL CAVAIGNAC DICTATOR. — REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO THE EVENTS OF MAY AND JUNE. — CONTINUED DIMINUTION OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES. — TAX ON LOANS. — CHARGE AGAINST MINISTERS OF ABUSE OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS. — THEIR REPLIES. — LOUIS BLANC'S EXPLANATION. — LOUIS BLANC AND HIS DUPES. — THE "NATIONAL" ON THE CONSTITUTION AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND. — PROHIBITION AGAINST THE JOURNALS REMOVED. — THE GOVERNMENT AND THE VACANCIES IN THE ASSEMBLY. — FUTURE PROSPECTS OF FRANCE. — COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF THE TWO GREAT PARTIES. — GREAT DISTINCTION IN THEIR VIEWS. — LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE DYNASTY OF JULY.

July 24.

ON the 19th instant the Presidency of the Assembly again became vacant by the transfer of a *portefeuille* in the Administration of General Cavaignac to M. Marie, who had filled the chair but for a very few days after M. Senard had been made Minister of the Interior. On this occasion the only candidates seriously put forward with a chance of election were M. Armand Marrast, principal proprietor of the "National" newspaper, of

which he had been the editor for some time previous to the Revolution, and M. M. Lacrosse, a member of the *ancienne Gauche*. Upon the first scrutiny, M. Marrast had forty-five votes more than his opponent in the Chamber of Deputies, but this did not constitute an absolute majority. Upon the second ballot he was elected by a majority of between sixty or seventy out of eight hundred votes.

He had, on account of indisposition, not been able to take his seat until to-day, when he made an inaugural speech, blending, with thanks for his election, some *post mortem* praise of poor M. Dornes, a most amiable man, I believe, who was also a writer in his newspaper as well as a Representative, and who had died of his wounds in the late insurrection.

The sincere sympathy felt for one who was regretting the loss of an ancient comrade who had died so creditably, prevented the smile which might otherwise have been difficult to repress when M. Marrast added: "La République qu'il voulait (Dornes), que nous voulons, ce n'est pas la conquête des positions officielles pour un petit nombre."

Considering that the complaint had for some time been the domination of what was called *la clique du National*, and that, at this moment, amongst those connected with that paper were the President of the Council, the Foreign Minister, and the President of the Assembly, as well as very many inferior *employés*, it might have been thought

that its writers had been elevated in numbers out of all proportion to its readers.

The first act the new President had this day to perform was, after the receipt of the report that Louis Napoleon Buonaparte had been duly elected for Corsica, to read another letter from the new member again repeating his resignation. This letter I subjoin. There was much applause from one portion of the Assembly, when he gives as a reason for still declining to appear amongst them, "que ma présence en France ne puisse, en aucune manière, servir de prétexte aux ennemis de la République."

"Londres, le 8 Juillet, 1848.

"MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT,

"Je viens d'apprendre que les électeurs de la Corse m'ont nommé leur représentant à l'Assemblée Nationale, malgré la démission que j'avais déposée entre les mains de votre prédécesseur. Je suis profondément reconnaissant de ce témoignage d'estime et de confiance, mais les raisons qui m'ont forcé à refuser les mandats de la Seine, de l'Yonne, et de la Charente-Inférieure subsistent encore; elles m'imposent un nouveau sacrifice. Sans renoncer à l'espoir d'être un jour représentant du

peuple, je crois devoir attendre, pour rentrer dans le sein de ma patrie, que ma présence en France ne puisse, en aucune manière, servir de prétexte aux ennemis de la République. Je veux, par mon désintéressement, prouver la sincérité de mon patriotisme ; je veux que ceux qui m'accusent d'ambition soient convaincus de leur erreur.

“ Veuillez, Monsieur le Président, faire agréer une seconde fois à l'Assemblée Nationale ma démission, mon regret de ne pas encore participer à ses travaux, et mes vœux ardents pour le bonheur de la République.

“ Recevez, Mons. le Président, &c., &c.

(Signed) “ LOUIS BONAPARTE.”

July 26.

To-day was the commencement of the discussion on the report of the Commission, as to the law against clubs, proposed by the Minister of the Interior. The position of the Government on this question was somewhat embarrassed, since, composed as the ministry is, it could not boldly say that a political club is a *malum in se*. But the law still attacked everything which gave the Clubs a distinctive character from other political reunions. They were not to be opened without previous

governmental authority; they were obliged to admit strangers, and to bear the constant presence of a Government functionary; and they were in no respect to correspond with each other. These restrictions show that thereby all was reduced to the question, how far the present state of society permitted any sort of political re-union.

A humorous incident somewhat enlivened the commencement of this otherwise very dull discussion. One of the first provisions was, that neither women nor minors should be members of a club. His ex-Excellency Flocon proposed to omit the words "des femmes." Considering that before His Excellency citizen Flocon had taken to statesmanship, degrading reports were universally believed as to the species of social traffic by which he had gained his livelihood, it was perhaps natural that he should consider a collection of women within a club, for purely political purposes, as comparatively innocent. In the course of his gallant efforts for the omission of these words, he said: "A mon avis la présence des femmes dans les réunions du genre de celle dont nous nous occupons est une garantie d'ordre, de modération et de convenance;" and this declaration having been met by laughter and ironical shouts of, "Oui, oui, oui," enraged at this sort of interruption, he grew irritable, and added, "Chacun peut avoir son avis, c'est le mien (more interruption); j'ajoute que je ne crois pas qu'il

convienne dans la République Française, et dans les institutions qui s'y rattachent, de traiter les femmes comme des *Mineurs*." A voice cried out, "Elles sont beaucoup plus contrariées quand on les traite comme des *Mineurs*!"

Their advocate descended from the tribune amidst what is called "hilarité générale," and the poor ladies, as well as the lads, lost their cause, and remained excluded from the clubs.

July 27.

The great incident of the day, of infinitely superior interest for the moment to the squabbling about the law against the clubs, was the first and most worthy *début* of my friend Thiers in the National Assembly. He had been commissioned by the Committee of Finance to make a report, in their name, upon a proposed project of the notorious Proudhon, as to the spoliation of one-fifth of one description of property. It must be confessed that, even in an assembly likely to have so little personal sympathy with the orator, when he had to denounce, with the unanimous reprobation of the Committee, such Theories as those propounded by Proudhon, he was not considering his former reputation and performances put to any very severe trial. But it is only with the result I have to deal; nothing could be more perfect than the

execution of his task, displaying upon various points that nicety of tact which makes his oratory so seductive, and showing the falsity of all the arithmetical calculations with a precision peculiarly his own,—for he is the only man, in any country, I ever heard, who, to me at least, makes a statement in figures more clear when taken in through the ear than when submitted to the eyes on paper.

“Donc—160 millions pour remplacer plus de 300 millions d'impôts et pour créer toutes ces merveilles; voilà comme dans les nouvelles écoles économiques on ajuste la fin et les moyens.”

He then, amidst heartfelt applause, which is still ringing in my ears, concluded with a peroration which I must copy *verbatim*, as a model of sound philosophy, derived from an impressive summary of facts, conveyed in the most powerful language, and at precisely the proper moment to save his country from such attractive but destructive illusions.

“On a trouvé pour tous ceux qui doivent ces fermages, ces loyers, ces intérêts, un moyen de ne pas les payer. Dénoncez votre dette, leur a-t-on dit, et on vous en remettra le tiers, et de ce tiers sera moitié pour vous, moitié pour l'état auquel il servira à détruire une foule d'impôts odieux. On a espéré mettre ainsi pour soi les fermiers, les locataires, les débiteurs; on a espéré mettre pour soi les cultivateurs, les patentables que l'impôt des 45 cent. écrase, et même les classes plus aisées, que l'impôt

progressif sur les successions a profondément inquiétées. On ne pouvait pas, nous le reconnaissons, mieux appeler à soi les mauvaises passions, et plus habilement armer la propriété contre elle-même.

“ L'invention, nous le reconnaissons, est nouvelle ; elle suppose une certaine fertilité d'esprit, dont, à notre avis, il n'y a pas fort à s'honorer ; et, à cet égard, le projet, de puéril qu'il était, sous le rapport financier, devient sérieux, habile même, mais en même temps digne d'éclatante réprobation.

“ C'est cette réprobation dont votre comité des finances m'a chargé d'apporter ici l'énergique expression.

“ Le langage que nous avons employé est sévère sans doute ; mais, s'il y a des erreurs qu'il faut savoir plaindre et respecter, il y en a qu'il ne faut payer d'aucune indulgence. Que certains philosophes, à vues bornées, inspirés par une misanthropie qui se rencontre souvent chez des esprits mécontents de la société et d'eux-mêmes, méconnaissent les grandes vérités nécessaires aux hommes, mettent en doute Dieu, la famille, la propriété, substituent à ces idées profondes et éternelles des idées fausses et funestes, cela s'est vu souvent, et cela ne mérite que compassion et respect ; respect, entendons-nous, pour la liberté de l'esprit humain, qu'il faut respecter dans celui même qui se trompe, car, en voulant arrêter Spinoza, on arrêterait Platon, Descartes, et Newton. Mais que, sortant de leurs méditations chagrines et solitaires, ces mêmes esprits

osent, dans des temps de guerre civile comme les nôtres, où les idées fausses font mouvoir des bras criminels, osent se servir de leurs erreurs comme d'un moyen d'excitation pour soulever la multitude égarée, alors c'est un devoir, tout en respectant la liberté chez eux qui en usent si mal, d'en blâmer le déplorable usage avec tout l'éclat d'un jugement national.

“Telle a été l'intention de votre comité des finances dans le rapport qu'il m'a chargé de vous présenter. J'espère que, dans l'intérêt de la société si profondément ébranlée, l'Assemblée Nationale voudra bien s'y associer.”

July 28.

The law against the clubs has at last passed by a majority of about six to one. The only doubtful division of opinion shown in the Assembly was as to the point of how far the offences created by the enactment should be tried by a jury or by the *Police correctionnelle*, and the triumph of the latter view was obtained by a majority only of eight votes—370 to 362. The Government joining in that majority, with all the moderate portion of the Assembly, against almost every name connected with the *République de la veille*.

July 31.

Some further detailed information has been brought to me as to the house at which all the traitorous correspondence with France is carried on by the Irish conspirators.

Madame —, who plays so active a part in this drama, is a handsome Frenchwoman, married to an Irishman. The couple are, I believe, in that dubious position in society which enables them to receive all classes from Smith O'Brien to Buckeens drilling for the barricades. The Irish Republicans are said to be in correspondence with this modern Madame Roland. She is the authoress of rather a lively little work, called "Amour et Liberté." I will not presume to say whether she practises the first with as much active philanthropy as she preaches the latter.

August 1.

A very few words will suffice to describe the fate of the proposition of citizen Proudhon, though it was introduced by himself in a speech of three hours and a half in length. I could not before have imagined that anything so novel and so monstrous,

could at the same time have been so irredeemably dull. His varied and comprehensive plans of spoliation having been detailed, he thus summed up what was his intention as to the mode of execution.

“ 1^{er}. *Dénonciation à la propriété à la classe bourgeoise du sens et du but de la Révolution de Février.*

“ 2^{me}. *Mise en demeure . . . à la propriété de procéder à la liquidation sociale, et autre temps de contribuer pour sa part à l'œuvre révolutionnaire, les propriétaires rendus responsables des conséquences de leur refus et sous toutes réserves.*”

Many members naturally asked, “ Comment sous toutes réserves ? ”

M. Dupin was heard to reply for the speaker, “ 'T is plain enough ! — Your money or your life ! ” The President requiring the orator to explain his meaning, he added: “ I aver that if there should be a refusal, we should ourselves proceed to the liquidation in spite of you.” “ You ! who are you then ? ” from many voices. From one, “ Do you speak in the name of the guillotine ? ” “ When I use the words *I* and *you*, I personify *myself* in the Proletariat, and *you* in the class bourgeoise.” Shouts of “ C'est la guerre sociale ! C'est le 23 Juin à la Tribune ! ” Without any discussion, the Assembly proceeded to stigmatise the proposition, and the doctrines by which it was introduced, by an “ ordre du jour motivé,” and by a majority of 691 to 2 the following was voted :— “ L'Assemblée Nationale, considérant que la proposition du citoyen Proudhon

est une atteinte odieuse aux principes de la morale publique, qu'elle viole la propriété, qu'elle encourage la délation, qu'elle fait appel aux plus mauvaises passions; considérant, en outre, que l'orateur a calomnié la Révolution de Février 1848, en prétendant la rendre complice des Théories qu'il a développé.—Passe à l'ordre du jour."

The last "considérant" was a skilful addition of Senard, the Minister of the Interior, by which he secured to the majority all the most violent of the authors of that revolution and the promoters of its most mischievous deceptions,—Louis Blanc, for instance, who voted against Proudhon's somewhat too barefaced exposition of these deceptions, and in honour of their own work. A person of the name of Greppo had the singular distinction of alone standing by the bold bad man who made the proposition; but was it quite an honest vote of repudiation on the part of all the 691? I should like to see such unanimity against some other proposition somewhat more plausible, and mischief a little more practical.

August 2.

Yesterday there was rather a curious scene in the Assembly, on the occasion of "des interpellations" of M. Crespel de Latouche, as to the continued sup-

pression of eleven newspapers, and the late unexplained imprisonment of M. Émile de Girardin. Of the newspapers suppressed whose opinions were called either reactionary or conservative, according to the views of the person speaking of them, there was not only the "Presse," but "L'Assemblée Nationale," a paper which had been most courageously founded, and most energetically conducted during the worst days of the Provisional Government, which, therefore, might have found some favour in the eyes of all friends of order, whether Monarchical or Republican. The impression which had been created by the causelessly cruel conduct of the Government towards M. Émile de Girardin was left entirely untouched by this discussion, whilst the accidental mention, by one of the speakers, of the name of Armand Carrel as one whom they had all defended in former times from the effects of similar arbitrary acts, recalled to the recollection of all that his melancholy end had been the result of a personal encounter with this very Émile de Girardin; and as this could not but revive at the same time the memory of the intimate social and political ties which existed between that distinguished writer and all the component parts of the existing Government, it gave the appearance of individual vengeance to that which no one could deny was an unexplained stretch of power. The right to commit any such act was not very satisfactorily vindicated by the Minister of Justice

(Marie), in answer to the statement made by M. Crespel, that there had been a consultation of the most eminent juriconsults and, "qu'ils ont établi que l'état de siège n'est pas la dictature, et que si l'état de siège déplace les juridictions il ne change pas la loi." Now in bringing back into activity the most severe of former laws against the press, say that of 1828, under it certain conditions were required ; and if these conditions were fulfilled, the arbitrary and indefinite suppression of publications could not be legal, though, under a dictatorship, it might have the supreme right founded upon necessity.

The question as to whether the country was at present under a dictator, or merely under a state of siege, was repeated by M. Victor Hugo, who on this occasion modified his language with the assurance, that it was his wish to address friendly counsels, not reproaches, to the Government, as their object was the same ; "il peut se résumer en deux mots—aimer l'ordre social, désarmer ses ennemis." But when he added, " Si le pouvoir donc désire être investi d'une autorité dictatoriale, qu'il le dise, et que l'Assemblée décide," the General, with rather more suppressed irritation than one would have wished him to have shown, exclaimed, in interruption, "Ne craignez rien, monsieur, je n'ai pas besoin de plus de pouvoir ; j'en ai assez, j'en ai trop. Calmez vos craintes."

M. Victor Hugo ended by asking the General to

give him a distinct answer, whether he thought the suppressed papers could reappear if they adhered rigidly to the enactments of the existing laws, or whether they must remain at his good pleasure "dans l'état où ils sont, ni vivants ni morts, non pas seulement entravés par l'état de siège, mais confisqués par la dictature?" Of this question General Cavaignac took no notice whatever, contenting himself with saying, "Je persiste à dire que je ne veux pas me défendre; je serai accusé ou défendu par le vote de l'Assemblée." *Un ordre du jour motivé* was proposed, declaring that the Assembly, in conferring the power they had granted to General Cavaignac, had meant to include the suppression of the journals; this being received with murmurs, the General skilfully interposed, and said, though no doubt this motion was meant kindly to him, he had rather find in a vote, simply passing to the order of the day, his justification on the part of the Assembly. This was therefore substituted and adopted; and, certainly, if the Assembly never before intended to create a dictator, they did so by this vote. The General cannot now be said to have assumed anything, but is confirmed as a delegated dictator; and well it is, perhaps, for the peace of the country that he should for the present so continue: such are the arbitrary necessities of times of successful revolution.

August 3. 6 P.M.

Since I made my entry this morning I have been down to the House of Assembly, and have heard the reading of the report of the Committee of Inquiry into the events of May and June. Whatever motives may be attributed to the members of the Committee, or whatever justice may be done to their intentions, must depend upon the party feelings with which it is examined ; but I think there can be but one opinion as to their unskilful execution of their difficult task. This is the more extraordinary, as the manner in which the Committee was selected would have seemed to promise a very different result, one member being chosen by each of the fifteen bureaux into which the Assembly is divided, as the most likely men in each to conduct the inquiry with success. Whilst listening myself to the report, I thought, perhaps, that the impression it made upon my mind arose from the mass of hearsay evidence included, so much more at variance with our judicial system than with the ordinary practice here. But, in addition to this irregularity, it was stated by M. Ledru-Rollin that most of the allegations which were to be brought against him had not been communicated to him upon his examination ; thus the feeling of the unfairness of the proceeding was very general, even amongst those who would have wished to have come to an opposite conclusion.

I am bound also to say that the manner of M. Ledru-Rollin was, for the first time, very favourable to him; and even in the face of impressions derived from a close observation of his public conduct during the last five months, I should say that upon this occasion his whole bearing was that of an honest man. However, with all the advantage derived from the mismanagement of the Committee, facts enough are brought out in the report to establish that the Executive Government of France from the month of February to the insurrection in June, practised, either collectively or in the person of some of its members, every fault of which a government can be capable, except cruelty or personal persecution. It stands forth to the world as false in many of its professions, uncertain in all its conduct, arbitrary and corrupt in itself, and through all its influences promoting the disorganisation of society.

The personal accusation against M. Caussidière and M. Louis Blanc may still be maintained; and I have heard that there are farther documents against the Provisional Government, which some had wished to suppress, from a desire not to push matters too far, but which will also be produced. The selection of M. Odilon Barrot as president of the Committee was unfortunate, as it was sure to subject the report to the imputation of bearing a reactionary character, even if the acceptance of

such vague insinuations had not in itself given it the aspect of being dictated by party spirit.

It is rather a singular fact that, in this report, it is stated, as the result of the evidence collected, that M. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, actually organised the expedition to Belgium; and on his indignant denial of other imputations, M. Ledru-Rollin never noticed this charge; and yet it was after this conduct, in direct defiance of the professions of M. Lamartine's manifesto, that the latter voluntarily cemented his political connection with M. Ledru-Rollin.

August 3.

At the conclusion of the sitting of the 1st of this month, the Minister of Finance, Goodchaux, had, under the garb of excessive frankness, shown an extreme irritation on his part as to the objections felt by the Committee of Finance to his proposed law as to *l'impôt hypothécaire*. This brought, in the course of yesterday's debate, the president of that Committee, Gouin, as well as two greater authorities, Thiers and Berryer, to complain of his captiousness, and to boast of the general support they had given to his financial projects. In the course of a very clear exposure of the dangers of that particular plan on which

alone the majority of the Committee of Finance had any difference of opinion with the minister, M. Berryer described the continual diminution of all the financial resources since February; and used these words, the more remarkable for containing not his opinion, but the confession of the man who had been the first Minister of Finance after the Revolution, and now again filled that office : —

“ Il ne faut pas se le cacher, c'est un évènement terrible qu'une Révolution, et une Révolution qui, comme le disait tout à l'heure l'honorable M. Goodchaux, de l'avis de ceux qui le désiraient le plus, est arrivée trop tôt ! Elle a pris le pays à l'improviste, au moins dans l'opinion du Cabinet.”

M. Berryer having, in his endeavours to soothe the susceptibility of the Minister of Finance, assured him that all were ready to unite with him . “ pour servir l'honneur et les intérêts de notre chère France ; parce qu'ils sont gens de cœur, parce qu'ils sont gens d'honneur, parce que quel que soit le parti auquel ils appartiennent, quel que soit le Gouvernement qu'ils aient servi, ou qu'ils aient regretté, ou qu'ils aient désiré, ou qu'ils puissent désirer encore pour la France, c'est pour la France qu'ils veulent un Gouvernement, ce n'est pas pour eux-mêmes.”

We should have thought that, on the part of so distinguished a person, this was as modest an allusion to his known opinions as was consistent with

candour; but it was too much for the triumphant intolerance of those who had pretended to fight for liberty of speech; and, amidst many murmurs, a certain citizen, Charton, shouted out, "Il ne fallait pas dire qu'on pourrait espérer un autre Gouvernement!" In the first place, M. Berryer's word was "désirer," not "espérer," as quoted against him. Be that as it may, when it was made a crime to "désirer un autre Gouvernement," neither M. Charton nor any other individual in the Assembly could have had the face to add "un autre Gouvernement que celui-ci qui a réussi si bien."

The Government project was put to the vote at the end of the sitting, and the first article carried by 39—378 to 339. There were many absentees from the ranks of the republican notabilities, but all who were there voted with the Government.

August 5.

M. Goodchaux's proposed tax upon money lent (*l'impôt hypothécaire*) to the amount of one-fifth of the annual interest, was yesterday withdrawn by that minister, an amendment having been proposed which fixed the contribution at one-eighth instead of one-fifth. It was supported by all the opponents of the law, and carried by 329

to 313. The resources which the minister expected to derive from this sum having to that extent been diminished, M. Goodchaux declined to persevere, and took this step with more good humour than he had shown in the earlier proceeding.

August 5.

On looking carefully over the report of the Commission of Inquiry, the opinion I had formed upon hearing it read in the Assembly is confirmed. Its execution is singularly unskilful. It is diffuse without being detailed, and desultory without being comprehensive. When it is considered that some of the most important facts here stated against the Government which ruled France (with one modification in its *personnel*) from the Revolution of February to the days of June were collected from the most trustworthy sources, and extracted on an investigation conducted by able and honourable men of different parties, it is indeed most damaging to the political character of all those whose acts are called in question.

The abuse of public funds, particularly in the *Ministère de l'Intérieur*, rests upon records which, as they could not be falsified, cannot now be disputed. It appears the *commissaires* were not

considered sufficient for the purposes of disorganisation ; but that a great number of agents, chosen by the most violent clubs, and who had sent in their names on a roving commission throughout France, were paid out of the funds of the *Ministère de l'Intérieur*. I see also, that in spite of all the contrary assurances I received, at the time, from M. Lamar-tine, the marauding expedition into Belgium was furnished with arms from the arsenals of the State, *paid out of the funds* of the *Ministère de l'Intérieur*, and directed by the agents of that department.

It further appears, that whilst Ledru-Rollin told his colleagues that he knew nothing of the "Bulletins de la République," and disapproved of much that they contained, it was known by the *employés* in that department that "une femme célèbre par ses travaux littéraires" sent every morning to his office three different proposed bulletins of somewhat different shades, and that, if not by the minister, at least in his name, one of these three was chosen. One phrase is here cited of the famous sixteenth bulletin of the 15th of April, which is even stronger, I think, than anything I translated at the time. It states that if the elections are not such as to please them, (these elections made, it is remarked, by universal suffrage, and according to a method invented and fixed by this very department,)— "Il n'y a alors qu'une voie de salut pour le peuple qui a fait des barricades, ce serait.

de manifester une seconde fois sa volonté, et d'ajourner les décisions d'une fausse Représentation Nationale."

I subjoin the principal passages in M. Ledru-Rollin's general denunciation of the injustice with which the Commission has treated him, as his words are given in the "Moniteur." He availed himself, as I mentioned before, with great success, of the position of an injured man thus made for him:—

"Citoyens, j'ai demandé, pour mon compte, sans attendre les pièces justificatives, à m'expliquer. . . ; mais personne ici ne peut être meilleur juge que moi de ce qui regarde mon honneur. J'entends quelques-uns de mes honorables amis qui me disent: 'Attendez les pièces imprimées.' Mais vous n'avez pas réfléchi, vous qui parlez ainsi, à la nature de l'œuvre qu'on vient de vous lire.

"Comment les pièces imprimées! mais qu'en ai-je besoin pour défendre un principe? car ce n'est pas pour me défendre que je suis ici, c'est pour faire respecter un principe sacré qui peut être violé pour moi aujourd'hui, qui peut l'être pour vous plus tard.

"Qu'est-ce donc que cette enquête? j'ai été entendu une fois, et il n'est pas un seul des faits au bout desquels mon nom est accolé, il n'en est pas un seul qui ait été articulé devant moi. Je l'affirme sur l'honneur; qu'on me démente si cela n'est pas vrai: produisez votre procès-verbal.

“Consultez votre mémoire, je fais appel à votre souvenir, à votre honneur. N'iez-vous que j'ai été entendu une seule fois ? Un des faits qui m'ont été reprochés, un des actes qui ont été énoncés, un des noms qui ont été prononcés, tout cela m'a-t-il été dit ? Non, vous ne pouvez pas répondre que cela m'ait été dit.

“Et vous croyez que pour vous confondre j'ai besoin de vos pièces imprimées ? Eh bien, voilà ce que je veux constater, et ici, messieurs, je fais appel à toutes les consciences ; je fais un appel à toutes les nuances d'opinions, je dis que l'Assemblée doit être consternée de l'œuvre qu'elle a entendue. Oui, consternée, car je mets en fait qu'aux plus mauvais jours des Assemblées législatives, pareil précédent n'a jamais existé.

“Vous avez accusé les uns, vous avez frappé les autres, et vous ne les avez pas confrontés avec un seul témoin, pas un seul ! Vous n'avez pas tenu de procès-verbaux, et vous dites : ‘ Mais cela n'est rien, car, enfin, la justice plus tard pourra intervenir. ’ La justice ! oui, quand l'opinion du pays nous aura frappée de réprobation, interviendra votre justice tardivement réparatrice ! Et que me fait, à moi, votre justice ? Une peine matérielle, la privation de ma liberté. Eh ! qu'est-ce que cela peut me faire ? est-ce que le 24 Février je n'ai pas sacrifié tout cela ? est-ce que je n'ai pas pensé qu'un jour il me faudrait compter avec les ennemis vaincus de la République ? J'ai pensé à tout cela.

Je vous demande alors ce que c'est votre rapport, et si, pour le confondre, j'ai besoin de vos pièces imprimées."

It is to be remarked, that M. Ledru-Rollin, in his impromptu reply, (which was not without producing a certain favourable impression upon myself), did not deny any of the examples given of the perversion of the secret funds of his department to purposes of confusion; and as to the very important point of how far the insurrectionary doctrines of these bulletins had his authority, he made that weakest of all "red-tape" excuses, except when applied to neglect of trivial details,—the over-occupation of his official time.

"Je serais coupable de la publication du fameux bulletin. Ainsi donc, j'ai lancé un bulletin incendiaire. Avez-vous dit au milieu de quelle situation je ne trouvais? Je suis obligé de le rappeler moi-même, car enfin je me défends. J'organisais la Garde Nationale sédentaire, c'est-à-dire, un million d'hommes, la Garde Nationale Mobile; j'organisais le suffrage de la Garde Nationale, 1,500,000 voix; j'organisais les gardiens de Paris; j'organisais le suffrage universel que vous aviez déclaré impraticable; je veillais, quoi que vous en disiez, à la sécurité de Paris; car Paris, pendant tout ce temps, n'a pas été profondément troublé. Et quand je faisais tout cela, quand ma journée et ma nuit suffisaient à peine, on vient me dire que je lançais je ne sais quel bulletin qui était contraire

au droit. Le droit, je l'ai professé toute ma vie ; c'est pour lui que je veux mourir.

"Ce bulletin n'est pas de moi ; en le déclarant, j'ai dit la vérité. Mais que l'on mette en regard du bulletin les occupations dont j'étais assiégé et on comprendra qu'il ait pu échapper à ma sollicitude, à mes soins."

M. Louis Blanc was not so favourably listened to, and therefore one cannot say that he has, as yet, had an opportunity of making the best of his case. But he would have found it difficult to get over the opinion as to the mischief he has done, derived from the evidence given by his former colleague, M. Arago, before the Commission. The latter said he had felt from the first that "de pareilles idées menaient à des troubles sanglants. Une de nos premières dissidences avait sa source au Luxembourg. Louis Blanc voulait un Ministère de Progrès ; je m'y suis opposé, parce que je trouvais le principe mauvais, parce qu'on disait 'le peuple le veut ;' parce qu'il fallait donner ce Ministère à Louis Blanc lui-même, et qu'on en put nous soupçonner de nous associer à ses doctrines."

Agreeing in these views of M. Arago, and honouring the frankness and independence with which he now states them, I should like to ask M. Arago, if he held these opinions at the very commencement of the Revolution, how he came to admit Louis Blanc to share with himself in absolute provisional power over the French people, knowing, as he did,

there was not a pretence that such a nomination had been sanctioned by popular election ; for Arago had signed the decree by which he and six others were named as a provisional government, and this same Louis Blanc and three others merely as their secretaries.

The Commission give some extracts from the unpublished speeches of Louis Blanc to the delegates of the Luxembourg, received from the official shorthand writer, who had taken them down at the time, which I copy out just as they were given : —

“ Nous parlons d'avoir de former une assemblée de députés ; vous êtes une assemblée de députés, vous êtes l'assemblée des députés du peuple ; et que l'Assemblée Nationale s'installe ou non, celle-ci, j'en ai la confiance, ne périra pas. . . .

“ Étant presque enfant, j'ai dit : ‘Cet ordre social est inique ; j'en jure devant Dieu, devant ma conscience, si jamais je suis appelé à régler les conditions de cette société inique, je n'oublierai pas que j'ai été un des plus malheureux enfants du peuple, que la société a pesé sur moi.’ Et j'ai fait, contre cet ordre social qui rend malheureux un si grand nombre de nos frères, *le serment d'Annibal* . . .

“ Et quand je dis que le prolétariat est l'esclavage, je dis un mot dont j'ai approfondi la portée : croyez-le bien. On a proclamé le suffrage universel. Est-il l'expression de la volonté du peuple ? Oui, *dans une société où toutes les conditions seraient égales ;* oui, dans une société où chacun aurait le libre

développement de son esprit et de son cœur. *Dans la société actuelle, non ! non ! mille fois non !*

“ Mes amis, sachez-le, vous serez non seulement puissants, vous serez non seulement riches, vous serez rois. Car tous les hommes sont égaux, tous les hommes sont rois !

“ Sentiments de modération tempérés par une résolution de vigilance ; sentiments d'ordre, mais tempérés par la volonté de rester frères, et s'il le fallait, *douloureuse nécessité, nécessité bien comprise de se faire soldat !*

“ Vive la République ! qui fera qu'il n'y aura plus de riches ni de pauvres. . . .

“ Au point de vue moral comme au point de vue matériel, le système sur lequel est basée la société est un système *infame !*

“ Votre concours peut nous être utile par la force que vous nous communiquez, force morale qui doit nous mettre en état de dire à l'Assemblée : Voici les projets de la loi que nous présentons ; ces projets de loi, ce n'est pas Albert, ce n'est pas Louis Blanc qui les présentent ; c'est le peuple représenté par ses délégués ; traitez avec lui, et maintenant qu'il est organisé, *repoussez-les si vous l'osez !*

It would require all M. Louis Blanc's ingenuity to explain how, having himself all the responsibilities of Government on his shoulders, he could give utterance to such sentiments ; could state that he had vowed against “ l'ordre social un serment d'Annibal ;” and yet could within this very week not

only scornfully reject M. Proudhon's project for putting into practice only one portion, a small instalment, of the doctrine he had held when he exclaimed to the people in February, "Vive la République qui fera qu'il n'y aura ni de riches ni de pauvres!" But such an *ordre du jour* as Louis Blanc voted within this week did more than reject—it stigmatised. He declared Proudhon's plan to be "une atteinte odieuse," because "elle viole la propriété,"—that "propriété" which he had told the people was "un système infame." And more than this, he had voted, as the great objection to Proudhon's plan, that, "il a calomnié la Révolution de Février, en prétendant la rendre complice des théories qu'il a développées," who himself in the first days of that revolution, with reference to his own much more gigantic schemes of complete confiscation, had told the people that, supported by them, he could say to the National Assembly, "Voilà nos projets, repoussez-les si vous l'osez;" and he it was who, instead, joined with the mass in branding as "une atteinte odieuse" a much more modified project.

Verily, citizen Proudhon might well say, "Call you this backing your friends?" Doubly deep must have been his gratitude for the solitary vote of the less notorious, but more faithful Greppo! Changed as the season was the Louis Blanc of August from the Louis Blanc of February. Was this the result of somewhat late repentance, or

merely of recent panic at the consequences of the imminent disclosures in the forthcoming report ?

If ever again Louis Blanc should, by such doctrines as have here been proved to have come out of his mouth, attempt to delude his dupes to their own undoing, I trust he will be met by this judgment, passed upon him by *himself*, and 690 other members of the National Assembly, on the 31st of July, 1848, and that he will be asked whose theories they were, if not his own, of which it was a calumny on the Revolution of February to make it the accomplice.

One other observation upon quite a different portion of the report,—a mere matter of fact,—and then one's opinion upon the rest may well be reserved till the general discussion. M. Ledru-Rollin stated distinctly, that he had given the orders for beating the rappel upon the 16th of April, and in this assertion he was most unexpectedly confirmed by the President of the Assembly, Marrast, who stated, that early in the day, being with General Courtois on some other business, he had heard the Minister of the Interior give that order. Now, if M. Lamartine and General Changarnier were both led into error, thereby doing injustice to M. Ledru-Rollin, the fault was entirely M. Marrast's. It is, I see, on this occasion, convenient to have kept a contemporaneous record of what was stated at the time of these facts : and I find that neither M. Lamartine nor General Changarnier, —

from both of whom I heard the details of that day, —makes any mention of M. Marrast having told them that Ledru-Rollin had, within his own knowledge, given such an order; on the contrary, by their account, M. Marrast was himself, at one o'clock, persuaded by them both to give an original order as Mayor of Paris, without any reference to the Minister of the Interior. When M. Lamartine saw General Courtois, and told him that he was to beat the rappel, for that the Minister of the Interior had given him authority to that effect, General Courtois never said, "Oh yes, such are the instructions I have received," though that must have been long subsequent to the time alluded to by M. Marrast, who was already at the Hôtel-de-Ville. General Courtois only offered to furnish piquets from each Legion, which is done without beating the rappel. Whoever may, upon this occasion, have been to blame, the fact remains beyond dispute, that it was by the original order signed by M. A. Marrast, at the instigation of General Changarnier*, a little before one o'clock, that Paris was saved from the consequences of this conspiracy.

August 6.

There appeared in the "National" of yesterday, a most offensive article against the constitution

* General Changarnier's account I, in the first instance, only heard second-hand.

and social condition of England. I should not have paid any attention to this, more than to many other articles in the journals, except that it purported to be a defence, and in some respects not an unreasonable one, of the foreign policy of the Government, and that Government is, in common parlance here, called the Government of the "National" clique.

I had meant to have mentioned the matter confidentially to M. Bastide, but as I found him yesterday with General Cavaignac, I thought it best, after we had finished our conference, then to call their attention to the circumstance, stating, that of course I made no complaint upon the matter, as I was sure the French Government had no sympathy with such sentiments, which would be inconsistent with the whole tone of our relations; but they perhaps had means of advising the discontinuance of the publication of such documents, which I was sure they would feel might be attributed in other quarters to their most zealous supporters.

The General read the paragraph, which he had not before seen, and then said, "Yes, that is propagandisme tout bonnement." I said, I thought he would observe it was even more than that; it was an excitement to social war; it implied what one of the late ministers had most unjustly imputed to England in words which the present Government had energetically disclaimed.

The General assured me he much disapproved of such articles, but that he had no means of controlling them. M. Bastide said it was most provoking; that he had done what he could to prescribe a better spirit, and he did not know how such phrases had been introduced. The General suggested that he should again see how far he could influence a better tone, which he undertook, though they both disclaimed any power over the paper. I said I mentioned it merely from a desire that it should not, in English papers, over none of which we had any control, produce articles tending to disturb the present amicable feeling of the two nations; but that as to the existing constitution in England, which was what I suppose the writer meant by the aristocracy, we believed it to consist in the well understood and equally balanced rights of all classes,—and by whatever name called, recent experience had shown that it had no cause to fear attacks from any quarters.

Both the President of the Council and the Minister repeated their regrets at the spirit of the article and their desire to prevent its repetition.

August 7.

In this morning's "Moniteur" appears an edict, dated yesterday, and signed E. Cavaignac, removing

all prohibition and sequestration from the eleven newspapers which have been stopped and their offices shut up since the days of June.

It is evident that the confirmation of arbitrary power voted by the Assembly last week has enabled the General, I have no doubt very willingly, to adopt this act of grace without compromising his authority, the maintenance of which at this moment is of so much importance to others as well as to himself. But it is difficult to suppose that if it were *necessary* to take so strong a measure, and to maintain it for six weeks, it can be quite safe to relax it now.

August 11.

An incident occurred in the National Assembly yesterday which deserves to be recorded, as showing the extraordinary contradictions which events have rendered necessary in the acts of a Government professing perfect liberty as its spirit, while obliged to suppress its exercise altogether.

Parties, as has been seen, are upon some occasions nearly balanced in the Assembly. Death vacancies, double returns, and void elections, have left a number of places without representatives quite sufficient to turn the majority. Many of these vacancies have been nearly two months open. I really

believe the difficulty the Government felt has been that they could not venture to have elections in Paris at present, and as little did they like to make the city a marked exception ; but though this may be their motive, it is at the same time well known that all the returns would be in favour of the moderate party. One of this party proposed yesterday the same resolution of the Assembly as had been voted in May, fixing the time of the re-elections.

This proposition General Cavaignac resisted, on the ground that though he exercised a delegated power, yet this was within the functions of the Executive Government, and if they wished to pronounce an opinion that he had improperly delayed the elections, he should submit to it, but he should consider the vote in the light of want of confidence. This was disclaimed ; but nevertheless the Assembly, by a large majority, passed to the order of the day.

The "Moniteur" was clamorous against the elections being allowed to take place ; it was curious to see ultra-Republicans dreading the exercise of universal suffrage, as likely, upon all these questions daily pending, to give a majority to what they call the party of the reaction, even when that party is opposed to the Government.

August 14.

In judging of the future prospects of France, as to the form of Government, and as to the men who are to administer it, one has always to guard against being influenced in one's calculation of probabilities, by the fluctuating expectations of the different parties into which the country is divided. But when these relative chances seem to have been affected by the test of public opinion, then they require to be closely observed, and their value estimated, in proportion as the influence is or is not of a permanent character. Viewing the matter in this light, I am inclined to attach some importance to the general impression, within the last few days, of the confirmed strength of the Legitimist party. In the late municipal elections throughout the country, whenever there was a contest, the Republicans from conviction were generally beaten by the Republicans from necessity, or, as they are here distinguished, *Républicains de la veille et du lendemain*; and it has been further found, that whenever the Legitimists chose to put themselves forward, they beat the Orleanists. It is, no doubt, precisely in elections like these that the influence exerted by the Legitimists, — who are, generally speaking, the local gentry of the provinces, — is likely to have most weight. The choice was frequently made of those individuals who were personally known to be most

capable of conducting local affairs, without much reference to their political career. This feeling most predominated in those quarters where the commissioners of M. Ledru-Rollin had thrown everything into confusion. But it is evidently an influence likely to be of a permanent, probably of an increasing, character. I think I recorded as my opinion, in some general observations on the state of society in France during the reign of Louis-Philippe, that eighteen years of retirement from public affairs had very much improved the characters of many of the representatives of those families which had furnished the courtiers of the Restoration. Finding it impossible, from their reduced fortunes under the law of inheritance, to maintain an establishment both in Paris and in the country, and having no particular object to seek the neighbourhood of a court from which they were self-excluded, they have lived much upon their estates, and have in very many instances become the real benefactors of their neighbourhood. Under some advice, much more sagacious than would have sprung from those who lost for their lawful sovereign the throne of France, they determined not to put forth their strength at the elections in April, but whenever they chose to bring forward a candidate he was generally elected. They suffered fewer defeats than any other party, and in the first Assembly of the Republic, they have from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty

members. They act generally in concert with what is called the old Dynastic opposition, and the best understanding subsists between the two real leaders, M. Berryer and M. Thiers. The former has already acquired great influence with all parties in the Assembly. The talent so long known and admired has in some recent instances been found united with a tact and judgment for which he had not before such general credit.

In estimating the strength of these two parties, and the chances resulting from their alliance, there are other points to be considered of even more importance than their relative numbers. Though both equally convinced that, in a given time, this form of government will be found impossible in such a country as France, their immediate object is to consolidate the Republic for the present as a necessary instrument for the preservation of the social system. Both, however, feel that any premature attempt, in favour of either of their pretenders, would ruin the prospect of the one so put forward, and render the chance of the other more remote. But time, which it thus appears must intervene before any restoration ought to be attempted, will have a very different effect upon the chances of the two branches of the House of Bourbon.

As for the late King, one may now deal with a fact without examining its causes; the feeling entertained towards him throughout France is that

of universal distrust. From the minister whom he kept too long, as well as from the one whom he called too late, down to the most humble individual to whom he may have addressed a few casual words, all accuse him of deceiving them; and the feeling towards him is therefore one from which no people ever returns. But during the early days of the Revolution, there was much sympathy felt towards many of his family. Some of the princes had earned strong professional attachment, in their different services, and the conduct of the Duchess of Orleans, on the 24th of February, was felt to have united every quality that commands respect and secures sympathy. But the impression thus created has now lost much of its force; for the dynasty of Orleans, the creation of popular favour, once laid low, had no roots in the soil from which to put forth fresh shoots. Even those who followed its fortunes for the favour it could confer, are now some of the loudest in expressing this opinion. The dislike to the elder branch has, on the other hand, been much worn out by time and obliterated by more recent disappointment; and though it would find no peculiar favour in the body of the people, it might be accepted as the most obvious way of embodying the monarchical principle; and those partisans who have for eighteen years clung to the notion of an unpopular and apparently impossible restoration, are not likely to slacken their efforts when the chances seem every day more

in their favour. One must recollect, too, this great distinction in the views of the two parties. There is hardly a supporter of the Orleans branch who would not now accept the Duc de Bordeaux as the means of restoring the monarchy ; whilst there is hardly a Legitimist who would not, as long as it was compatible with social order, cling to the Republic rather than restore the junior branch at once to the throne. Unless, therefore, by another insurrection, the anarchical party shall for a time get the upper hand, the result of all this appears to me, that the negotiation which has for some time been going on to rally all the Royalist party round Henri V., with the probable prospect of succession to the Count de Paris, is the most likely solution of the future destinies of France.

At the same time, all agree that this must not be effected by any premature attack upon the republican system. To make any monarchy permanent in France, the impossibility of a Republic must work itself out, and be proved — even by the confession of those who are loudest amongst its advocates. I am surprised at the extent to which this conviction has already reached, and which has been confirmed to me by confidential communications ; its development must however be an affair of time, unless some unexpected incident should bring on a crisis. One must never lose sight of the important part which “ *l'imprévu* ” has always been found to play in political events in France, deranging spe-

culations which, on that account, cannot assume the force of calculations. In any estimate of the relative chances of the two branches of the House of Bourbon, one must recollect that the Legitimist head will never avail himself of a mere sudden chance, having frequently announced a determination — in his peculiar position, as praiseworthy as it is natural — never to disturb the peace of the country, unless in the event of a general demonstration in his favour. The young princes of the House of Orleans, having been accustomed to a more active life, from which they have been only lately removed, would be more likely to avail themselves of any partial indications holding out even a prospect of success.

The influence of "*l'imprévu*" has in no case been so remarkable as in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. On the 1st of June, who would have supposed, that before the middle of that month, he could become a future hope for many, an imminent danger for others ? and who, after all this had been realised, would have dreamt that, before the end of the month, the dreadful events with which his enemies so cruelly attempted, though in vain, to connect him, would obliterate, for the time, all recollection of his existence, so that his repeated resignation of another seat to which he had been elected passed almost without observation ? Whether he may again appear amongst the probable contingencies of the future, must much

depend upon the manner and the moment of his first reappearance here, when he thinks the time come for availing himself of some similar opportunity. With universal suffrage the future fate of this country is in the hands of the peasants, if they only knew two things—their will and their power. With the peasantry of France, the natural impulse is Bonapartist, but as the habitual influence is in the hands of the priests, one does not, at present, see any prospect of these two being united on one object. The peasantry never had the slightest sympathy with the dynasty of July. They could not understand what it meant. It appealed neither to their national love of glory, nor to their traditional loyalty, nor to the new-fangled but seductive doctrines of equality.

The affair which at this moment may in its progress upset all other calculations, is that of the Commission of Inquiry into the late insurrection; much depends on the manner in which the Government may deal with the report. If the truth is suppressed, the indignation of the National Guard and the *bourgeoisie* may break out into some demonstration. If justice takes its course, and some of the demagogues are arrested, a second insurrection may be attempted.

Up to last night the Council had not come to any decision: I shall therefore postpone till another occasion any observations as to the effect that decision may have upon the future prospects of this country.

CHAP. XVII.

"MISSION SPÉCIALE" TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. — INTERVENTION IN ITALY. — IMPROBABILITY OF THE CONTINUANCE OF THE REPUBLIC. — CAVAIGNAC'S "EXPLANATION" ON THE ITALIAN QUESTION. — DISCUSSION ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE INSURRECTION. — SPEECH OF M. LOUIS BLANC. — RETORT OF M. TRÉLAT. — ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL CAVAIGNAC. — STATE OF SIEGE TO BE MAINTAINED. — GENERAL CAVAIGNAC'S INDISCRETION IN THE TRIBUNE. — HIS ADDRESS. — LAMARTINE'S DEFENCE OF HIS OWN POLICY. — HIS LEADING CHARACTERISTICS. — CRITICAL POSITION OF CAVAIGNAC. — THE REPUBLIC IN DANGER. — DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY, THAT IT CAN PROLONG ITS OWN EXISTENCE TO PASS ORGANIC LAWS. — ESTIMATED EFFECT OF FOREIGN WAR ON THE DURATION OF THE REPUBLIC. — THE MAN OF THE HOUR.

"Paris, le 19 Août, 1848.

"S. E. M. le Marquis de Normanby a été présenté par M. Bastide, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, à M. le Général Cavaignac, Président du Conseil des Ministres, chargé du pouvoir exécutif, et a remis les lettres qui l'accréditent auprès de la République Française en qualité d'Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire de S. M. la Reine

du Royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, chargé d'une mission spéciale."

Such are the terms in which the "Moniteur" of this morning announces the accomplishment of the wish so often expressed by successive Governments since February, that I should be regularly accredited to the French Republic. The mediation in the affairs of Italy which the two Governments have jointly undertaken, seemed to necessitate some official connexion between them, and therefore the difficulty previously felt as to letters from the sovereign of one country to an authority which was only provisional in the other, has been got over by the words, "chargé d'une mission spéciale."

When I presented my letters to the General, the reception was quite private, and treated only as a continuation and confirmation of our former relations. When I was going away, the General said, with great kindness, "You will recollect that it is at *your* desire, that we do not at once express formally in London our wish that, in order to preserve you here, the two *Embassies* should be reciprocally permanent." I told him that I had still my reasons for not wishing this to be done at present; and he rejoined, "Well, whenever you tell us that we may do so, we shall write." I was aware that the General had some little time since attended the Committee of Foreign Affairs, when they were discussing whether the Republic should send Am-

bassadors anywhere, and had successfully urged that they should make no change in the rank of the individual who was permanently to represent them in England, lest they should necessitate a personal change of the English Ambassador in Paris.*

* This change in my position, as well as the engrossing nature of the business which had at last been the immediate cause of that change, involved so many more frequent communications with the British Government, on subjects in no way connected with the internal state of France, that though I still continued the same life of observation, whether in the tribune of the Assembly or in society, the time was materially wanting for the same daily record of interesting details in the still changing scene around me. Indeed, from the beginning of this month, when the mediation on Italian affairs was first unofficially negotiated, it will be seen, the Journal became less regular. I have from this time to the end of the year of Revolution, hundreds of pages of official communications on diplomatic details, which I look over and lock up. I do not know whether the time will ever come when their publication would be at once innocent without ceasing to be interesting; but, at present, I am sure that I shall best fulfil the intentions with which I undertook this publication by confining it, as I trust I have hitherto done, to the personal records of an eye-witness of all these strange events, neither committing in any respect the opinions of my own government nor diverging into observations upon the relative position of other countries. With respect to the mediation, I will therefore only say here that in my opinion it was undertaken from a due sense of the imperious necessity of maintaining the general peace of Europe, especially when a war undertaken by the French Republic *must* at that time have become a war of revolutionary propagandism. The original point of departure was a proposed

August 20.

Yesterday, during the sitting of the House of Assembly, orders were given to several regiments, cavalry and infantry, to guard all the approaches; and the surrounding streets were soon filled with troops. The explanation given was, that the wives and female relations of the insurgents had intended to come in a body to the Assembly to demand a general amnesty, and that it had been supposed this demonstration, if permitted to take place, would only be the pretence for ulterior designs. All, however, passed off with perfect tranquillity, and at the rising of the Assembly the troops were dismissed.

There had certainly been much fluctuating uneasiness in the public mind during the previous days, increased, during the last four-and-twenty hours, by an indiscreet proclamation of the Préfet de Police, a violent, injudicious man, and who endeavours to attribute the whole danger to monarchical reaction. I believe it to be the very reverse of fact, that there is at this time any design on the

compromise suggested by one of the parties earlier in the year; but the mode of dealing with the question was of course much modified in its progress by the fortune of war, and by other causes which it would be unjust to attribute entirely to her, but which it would be equally unnecessary and invidious now to particularise.

part of the adherents of either branch of the House of Bourbon to make any immediate attempt for giving effect to their wishes. The Préfet de Police may no doubt have heard that the general language amongst the smaller *bourgeoisie* of Paris is, that matters will not mend until they have a king; and this not from any personal predilection, but from the notion that it is the Republic which has destroyed confidence and credit: indeed, when asked, "What king?" the frequent response is, "Any one but the last, who has brought this upon us."

But whilst desperate masses of the people, at this moment in the extremes of want, are imbued with the most anarchical principles, and cherish extensive designs of spoliation, it is obviously of the utmost importance for the future settlement of the country, that the Republic should fight out the social battle before any political movement should bring about a change in the form of government. Every day the Republic continues must render its future re-establishment more improbable.

A person whose experience in the public affairs of France is almost unrivalled, and whose judgment is universally respected, said to me, yesterday, "We are in such a state, that whilst every month shows a republic to be more and more impossible, it *still* remains less impossible than anything else."

Having had occasion to collect the opinions of

the most sagacious observers of all parties, I find a universal agreement that France is much indebted to England for contributing, through its influence with the other great European powers, to induce them all to preserve a friendly attitude towards the French nation, in spite of the change in its form of government. Those of all political opinions who unite in a desire to preserve social order are convinced that, by avoiding the chances of foreign war, the most effectual barrier has been opposed against anarchy; while those most adverse to the republican form of government, having accepted it without reserve themselves, are glad that foreign governments should have adopted the same course, as they think that any foreign isolation, which might have given to sympathy for the Republic something of a national character, would have given it temporary strength, and would also have confirmed the chances of its continuance.

August 22.

I must gratify my desire to insert here all the important part of General Cavaignac's explanation on foreign politics, delivered in the Assembly yesterday.

“ J'exprime, je le répète, le désir d'être appelé immédiatement à fournir à l'Assemblée, sur la question italienne, les renseignements qu'il pourra être à propos de lui donner ; mais je désire aussi qu'elle veuille bien, dans ces explications, me permettre de rester dans les limites que je crois utiles aux négociations.

“ Si j'avais été appelé à émettre une opinion sur la question italienne, avant l'époque à laquelle j'ai été appelé aux affaires, je n'aurais pas hésité, je le déclare Je sais très-bien que dans un pays comme le nôtre il faut plus de courage pour défendre le parti de la paix, dans certaines circonstances, que pour pousser à la guerre ; ce courage-là, je puis l'assurer, ne me fera pas défaut.

“ Je disais donc que si, avant les derniers événements, j'avais été appelé à donner un conseil pour la marche à suivre à l'égard de la question italienne, je n'aurais pas hésité à conseiller au pays de chercher à cette question une solution pacifique. Je dis avant les derniers événements, car, dans ma pensée, ces derniers événements ont notablement changé la situation, et à plus forte raison puis-je aujourd'hui soutenir l'opinion que j'aurais émise à une autre époque. Je vous prie ici, de vouloir bien ne pas me prêter une pensée qui n'est pas la mienne, et je vais expliquer en quoi la situation me paraît changée.

“L'Assemblée sait très-bien dans quel esprit, dans quelle disposition de sentiments a été accueillie la déclaration de l'Assemblée Nationale, qui exprimait son intention de se porter au secours de la nation italienne. Il est bien loin de ma pensée d'adresser les reproches les plus indirects à cette généreuse population, et, quoique je me montre ici comme un partisan déterminé d'une solution pacifique, si elle peut être obtenue avec honneur, personne ici, plus que moi, ne se sent animé d'un plus profond sentiment d'admiration et de sympathie pour cette population. Je désire que cela soit bien entendu, et qu'encore une fois on ne me prête pas autres sentiments que ceux que j'exprime. Il ne se cache rien sous mes paroles.

“Je disais que personne n'ignore dans quelles dispositions d'esprit nos déclarations ont été reçues. Par suite de sentiments assurément honorables, assurément généreux, que personne ne peut blâmer, et contre lesquels nous sommes bien loin de protester, non-seulement le gouvernement qui se portait spontanément au secours de la Lombardie, mais les populations lombardes et vénitiennes elles-mêmes ont déclaré qu'elles voulaient faire leurs affaires avec leurs propres forces. Cette pensée honorable et généreuse s'est perpétuée au sein des populations soulevées jusqu'à ces derniers jours. L'armée piémontaise et les forces de la Lombardie étaient déjà en pleine retraite, que le désir de notre

intervention ne s'était pas encore manifesté. En présence d'une situation pareille, en présence de ses conséquences possibles, nous aurions gravement manqué à notre devoir si nous n'avions pas cherché à pourvoir aux événements possibles aussi. Je le répète, l'intervention n'était pas demandée, je vais plus loin, dans beaucoup d'esprits elle était encore repoussée. Dans cette situation, nous avons compris qu'il fallait pourvoir par d'autres voies aux nécessités de la situation.

“ L'attitude prise par la France dans cette question ne lui permettait pas d'espérer le succès d'une médiation pacifique si elle se présentait seule. C'est alors que nous avons pensé à nous adresser à la nation anglaise, qui elle-même avait déjà pris, dans certaines limites, une part de médiation dans la question italienne. Nous lui avons dit : ‘ Les événements d'Italie nous imposent des devoirs que vous n'ignorez pas ; toutefois, ce que nous désirons, comme toute l'Europe, et comme vous-même, sans aucun doute, c'est que la paix de l'Europe ne soit point troublée.

“ ‘ Il dépend de vous, nous le croyons, en vous alliant à la France, dans une pensée, dans une action commune, il dépend de vous de prévenir la guerre et de maintenir la paix européenne. ’ Cet appel fait dans de pareils termes, la nation anglaise ne pouvait pas, nous en étions persuadés, y rester sourde. Nous ne nous sommes pas trompés ; elle

est entrée avec nous dans une action commune, dans une médiation qui, j'en ai l'espoir et le désir, contribueront à assurer la paix européenne. L'alliance de deux grandes nations est un fait dont il ne peut sortir qu'un grand et honorable résultat. Je ne crois ni utile ni possible d'entrer dans de plus longs détails sur cette médiation. A cette occasion, je ne puis, comme je l'ai fait dans beaucoup de circonstances, que reposer encore une fois les principes. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'un gouvernement constitué par lui-même et refusant à une assemblée législative une communication quelconque, il n'est rien de semblable : l'Assemblée est souveraine, il sera fait ce qu'elle voudra qui soit fait. Mais nous lui déclarons que, dans notre pensée, il y aurait danger (danger en ce sens que ce serait exposer la médiation à ne pas obtenir son effet désirable) à nous obliger à faire en ce moment une communication plus étendue, plus développée que celle que je viens de faire.

“ Avant de descendre de cette tribune, je veux répéter ce que je disais tout à l'heure à l'Assemblée, parce que c'est une pensée qui, comme elle doit le croire, me revient souvent, ou plutôt ne me quitte jamais. Dans notre pays, Messieurs, dans un pays aussi susceptible, aussi facile à inquiéter sur toutes les questions qui touchent à son honneur (et ce n'est pas un reproche que je lui adresse, c'est un fait que je constate et qui l'honore, sans aucun doute), dans un pays comme le nôtre, il faut sou-

vent plus de courage pour plaider en faveur de la paix que pour conseiller la guerre. Si, dans l'histoire du pays, je vois plus d'un homme qui s'est fait un grand nom par la guerre, j'en vois aussi beaucoup qui ont fini obscurément pour n'avoir voulu servir que les intérêts pacifiques de leur pays.

“Quant à moi, je le déclare solennellement, ma pensée s'est toujours portée avec plus de respect sur ceux-ci que sur les autres. Je pense que la République ne sera fondée en France, que l'éducation républicaine du pays ne sera faite que lorsque les hommes qui disposent pour un temps plus ou moins long de la puissance du pays, sauront se réduire à ce rôle modeste, et ne pas trop penser à eux-mêmes.

“Si la ligne de conduite que je suis bien fermement décidé à suivre, aussi longtemps que l'Assemblée le permettra, doit assurer au pays une paix honorable, une paix digne de la République, je ne demanderai pas d'avoir rendu au pays un plus grand service, je me croirai assez digne de son estime.

“Si, au contraire, j'avais un jour, Messieurs,—et ce n'est pas une crainte que j'exprime, mon espérance est toute contraire,—si j'avais un jour à conseiller au pays d'entrer dans les voies de la guerre,—eh ! mon Dieu, j'ai fait la guerre !—il me sera bien facile de reprendre les habitudes, d'obéir aux instincts de toute ma vie de soldat ; ce me sera, je ne veux pas dire bien doux, mais au moins plus facile

que toute autre chose. Si une pareille nécessité venait à se produire, si j'avais à resaisir mon épée, eh bien ! alors j'aurai fait tout ce que mon devoir envers la République m'impose, et, cette épée, je ne l'aurai pas mise au service des passions dangereuses ou d'intérêts personnels, mais au service des intérêts sérieux, des intérêts d'honneur de ma patrie, et ce sera avec un grand repos de conscience, avec une grande tranquillité d'esprit que je rentrerai dans cette voie qui, pour moi, n'est pas nouvelle.

“Jusque-là, je le déclare, je résisterai avec une fermeté inébranlable à tous les entraînements qui me paraîtraient dommageables à l'avenir de la République.”

I am sure it is unnecessary to point out the sound spirit which dictated these observations, and the statesmanlike manner in which the General treated the subject. The speech was delivered with great dignity and self-possession, and was very well received by the Assembly. His reply to M. Jules Favre, who said, that the French Government had put themselves *à la suite de l'Angleterre*, was also very effective ; and the expressions he used as to the different species of public opinion contained the soundest constitutional doctrines, though they must have sounded strangely in the ears of some who owed their political existence to the barricades of February. No one opposed to the Government policy could obtain a favourable hearing. The

Assembly was evidently desirous to avoid the subject; and it is only necessary to allude to the anti-English remarks of M. La Rochejacquelin, lest he should erroneously be supposed to represent a party. The name which he has inherited, and which will long be remembered in France as connected with devoted adherence to loyal principles and a losing cause, he has in his own person so hackneyed, from a morbid love of notoriety, that, with some oratorical facility and many social qualities, he has materially injured his political importance.

August 26.

After having yesterday kept my attention on the stretch in the House of Assembly, first through the greater part of the day, and then, after a short interval, through the whole of the night, I own I am rather inclined, upon reflection, to think that there is very little of all I listened to, which is worth recording, as either new in itself or likely to furnish useful historical data. If I had at first felt that the impression likely to be produced by such facts as had been collected in the Report

as to recent events was a little diminished by the political feeling of the majority of the Commission being so notoriously hostile to the parties inculpated, that objection could certainly not apply to the course of the discussion; the most damning confirmation of the charges made came exclusively from those who had been the colleagues, and in some instances the confederates, of the accused. A preliminary discussion of the most damaging description had injuriously forestalled M. Ledru-Rollin's not unskillfully prepared defence. To avoid the needless repetition of recriminating interruptions, I will state, shortly, that some question had arisen as to a portion of Arago's evidence, in which he had alluded to certain "*conciliabules*," or, as that word was objected to, select meetings, which had taken place in the early part of the month of May, at the Home Office, under the auspices of the presiding Minister, Ledru-Rollin, to decide upon the best method of getting rid of the moderate part of the Provisional Government, and, if required, of dissolving the National Assembly. M. Portalis and M. Landrin, formerly Law Officers of the Republic, rose one after the other to protest against their names being mixed up with any such supposed designs. The accusation had been indirectly applied to them in this manner. M. Arago, in the course of his evidence, when examined as to the dissensions which had constantly prevailed in the

Executive Commission, somewhat marring the *fraternité* of the five, said that one day in the Executive Commission, Ledru-Rollin, speaking of the abandonment of the prosecution of Louis Blanc, had added that he wondered why Landrin and Portalis had been so eager in favour of it, as they had been some of the most violent in their projects, when, assisting at the *conciliabules* at the Home Office, they had themselves proposed “de dissoudre l’Assemblée Nationale et de casser le Gouvernement Provisoire.” M. Arago stated, in his explanation, that, upon his first examination he had mentioned this fact without giving any names; that, upon having been again summoned before the Commission, he felt certain the names would be asked, and in order, therefore, before committing any one to be quite positive as to his facts, he had called on M. Ledru-Rollin, and, not finding him at home, he had requested to see him the next morning, and upon his arrival had simply put the question to him, “Is it true that, at a meeting at the Home Office, on the 3rd of May, or somewhere about that date, M. Landrin and M. Portalis stated that it was necessary to dissolve the National Assembly, and get rid of the Provisional Government?” “Yes,” said M. Ledru-Rollin, “quite true; and M. Portalis was particularly eager on the subject.” “After this,” said M. Arago, “I returned to the Commission and named the two persons, because I had *M. Ledru-Rollin’s authority* for doing so.”

I never in my life before saw M. Ledru-Rollin the least embarrassed in the tribune; but that he should have been so now is not perhaps to be wondered at. He went off from the main point at once upon the words "des conciliabules," which, he said, could not have been used by him as to the meetings at the Home Office, as that implied something culpable. He seemed to admit that he and his friends who met there had discussed the propriety of getting rid of that portion of the Provisional Government which was not "*homogène*." This at the very moment when poor Lamartine was about to sacrifice everything from a false feeling of fellowship for him! In any regular official connection between colleagues he would have seemed to have fair ground for the complaint he made against Arago, that he could not have expected his conversation at the Council Board should be made matter of testimony in a judicial inquiry. But M. Arago brought the question back to the important point for the public, in the interests of truth, by saying, "But you must recollect I sought you for the purpose of ascertaining whether I had accurately understood you. I told you I had had my deposition to make before the Commission of Inquiry; and I asked you, 'Is it true you pointed out M. Portalis as ready and anxious to overthrow the National Assembly and get rid of the Provisional Government?' You did not then tell me that I had no right to divulge

what had passed in the councils of the Executive Commission; but you replied, 'It is quite true, upon my honour (Oui, je l'affirme sur l'honneur).'

The subsequent portion of the discussion upon the Report, from which so much mischief was expected, passed off with more calm and decorum than was previously supposed possible, and was brought to a conclusion this morning at six o'clock, after a sitting which had lasted, with a short interval, eighteen hours. I remained there up to the time when, at five o'clock this morning, the decision was substantially taken upon the first division, and the declaration of "*urgence*," which is equivalent to the suspension of the standing orders in the British Parliament, was carried by a majority of upwards of 200.

I am bound to say it was a discussion more remarkable for the political prudence of those who abstained from speaking, than for the talent of those who participated in it. MM. Louis Blanc and Caussidière's speeches, which occupied four hours, were marked by a tedium which, had they not been in the character of the accused parties, would have led to frequent interruptions. M. Ledru-Rollin had some effective moments in his speech, upon the general question; but notwithstanding that he had now completely recovered his extraordinary self-possession, he could not himself forget, much less make others forget, the signal overthrow he had

received in the preliminary debate to which I have alluded.

Upon the Belgian expedition his defence completely failed, from his not being able to deny the application of funds from the *Ministère de l'Intérieur* for that purpose. As to the choice of his Commissaires, his explanation that the *forçat libéré*, who had afterwards committed a murder whilst employed by him, was only a Sous-commissaire, and not a Commissaire, was received with merited derision. All the prepared portion, which went to attribute reactionary views to the Commission, and to ascribe the character of this Report to a party plot against the Republic, lost its expected effect when pronounced immediately after his political reputation had received the most mortal thrust from the head of the last Republican Government, of which he had himself been a member, the sincerity of whose convictions were at the least as far above suspicion as his own.

His attempts to force the Moderates to give again a party character to the discussion, by taunts and reproaches, were ineffective in themselves and unsuccessful in their object. The party who made the Revolution, and for some time directed the Republic, were left, without any relief from other quarters, to tear each other to pieces. The firmness and energy of General Cavaignac will establish for him a stronger hold upon the great body of the French people; and it is fortunate the occasion

should have presented itself when he could break so decidedly with the ultra-party without appearing to compromise his known Republican principles.

I do not know that I should have thought it necessary to refer at all to M. Louis Blanc's speech, which was diffuse and ineffective, in every respect infinitely below his acknowledged abilities, had he not attempted to explain away the citations given in the report of his speeches at the Luxembourg, which I copied the other day. The extent of his defence upon this point is, that he did not systematically make one speech at the Luxembourg and insert another in the "Moniteur," the first intended for his own influence with his hearers, the other to meet the scruples of his absent and objective colleagues; but that "il a pu arriver souvent que dans l'élan d'une improvisation, dont il m'était impossible de rester toujours maître, il ne soit échappé des expressions qui ne dépassaient pas ma pensée, qui avaient un peu trop de vivacité peut-être." He cited some instances when he had made changes which had certainly completely altered the sense, but he did not say whether it was only "un peu trop de vivacité" when he told the people that he should say to the National Assembly, "Tels sont nos projets, repoussez-les si vous l'osez."

Proudhon, so justly stigmatised by him the other day, said nothing so strong.

He was met by a denial which received but little

credence, the evidence of M. Trélat, who testified that when he was going to dismiss M. Émile Thomas, that *employé* had said to him, "If I had known this on the 15th of May, I had better have listened to the advice of Louis Blanc, and joined him. A hundred thousand men, then, under my command, might have changed the result of that day." I will insert in M. Trélat's own words the retort with which he met this denial. I do this the more readily because I have before applied some little involuntary ridicule to M. Trélat's ministerial career; and now that he has returned to his proper sphere, and is contentedly exercising his former *métier* of visiting the sick in one of the poorest districts of Paris, I believe no one knows better the real state of the working classes or feels for their sufferings more sincerely. Amidst some bitterness against Louis Blanc, which the nature of his contradiction had aggravated, there is throughout the following expressions much actively benevolent feeling towards his deluded victims: —

Le Citoyen Trélat. — "Je viens d'être, pour la première fois de ma vie, accusé de n'avoir pas dit la vérité; je n'ai à faire ici d'autre réponse que celle-ci:

"Cinquante années d'une vie sans mensonge, voilà mon unique réponse.

"Citoyens, lorsque M. Émile Thomas fut appelé dans mon Cabinet, il le fut entre M. Boulaye,

Secrétaire Général du Ministère des Travaux Publics, et moi. C'est à M. Boulaye et à moi qu'il fit cette réponse que je ne voudrais pas répéter ici, parce que, je le dis et j'ai le besoin de le dire, je considère ce rapport de la commission d'enquête comme une mauvaise chose, mais je ne puis pas cependant rester sous le coup, sous lequel on m'a placé, je ne puis pas mentir à toute ma vie en ne disant pas ici ce qui est vrai.

“ Lorsque j'ai dit à M. Émile Thomas : ‘ Vous allez, Monsieur, me donner votre démission, ’ il m'a répondu : ‘ Je ne serais pas ici, il n'en serait pas ainsi, si j'avais écouté les propositions de M. Louis Blanc. ’ ‘ Quelles propositions, Monsieur ? Et si c'était de mauvaises propositions, vous avez eu raison de ne pas les écouter. ’ ‘ Je ne sais pas si j'ai eu raison, car j'avais une armée de 100,000 hommes, et 100,000 hommes d'un côté ou de l'autre eussent pu décider autrement la question du 15 mai. ’

“ Citoyens, j'ai entendu ces paroles, et, comme je l'ai dit à la commission d'enquête, de pareilles paroles ne s'effacent pas, ne se transforment pas ; je les ai entendues, et M. Boulaye les a entendues aussi.

“ Il y a une autre partie, celle-là ce n'était pas une déposition. Le jour où vous avez ordonné que toutes les pièces fussent publiées, je conçois qu'elles l'aient été toutes par la commission d'enquête, dans cette réponse à l'appel qui m'a été

fait : ma déposition, ensuite une causerie. Je n'avais pas entendu faire une déposition, car je savais bien que ce qui était une impression racontée de ma part ne pouvait avoir aucun caractère judiciaire ; je le savais bien, mais il est de ces impressions profondes qu'on éprouve dans des moments aussi solennels que ceux-là qui équivalent non pas extérieurement aux dépositions judiciaires, mais qui établissent une conviction profonde.

“ Eh bien, moi qui ai vécu six semaines là, je n'étais pas ministre des travaux publics, j'étais au milieu de l'insurrection, je n'ai pas pu travailler comme ministre des travaux publics, je n'ai pas pu que réprimer de toutes mes forces, de toute ma puissance, de toute ma volonté, de toutes mes supplications, de toute mon autorité, alternativement employées, successivement employées chaque jour ; réprimer l'insurrection, c'était mon devoir. Je ne reconnaissais pas l'ouvrier de France si vertueux, si dévoué, si bon, je ne le reconnaissais pas. Eh bien, citoyens, j'en cherchais partout l'explication ; ce n'étaient plus ses habitudes, ce n'était plus sa patience, ce n'était plus son langage, ce n'étaient plus ses vertus. Tout cela se réparera, cela revient même déjà, et je suis dans un arrondissement le plus malheureux de ceux de Paris où je vois reparaître chaque jour les anciennes vertus, la patience, la bonté du peuple, au milieu de ses misères, qui sont grandes. Eh bien, je ne le recon-

naissais pas, et il m'a bien été permis, à moi, lorsque je ne reconnaissais rien du langage ordinaire du peuple, il m'a été permis de faire un rapprochement que je ne pouvais pas me faire.

“J'ai été frappé d'entendre les mêmes paroles, les mêmes expressions, les mêmes images, la même accentuation, comme je l'ai dit. Eh bien, citoyens, ce n'a pas été de l'interprétation de ma part, ça était une conviction chez moi, et je me suis consolé en me disant que je ne pouvais pas accuser les ouvriers français, car je reconnaissais une action étrangère, car je reconnaissais une haine espagnole, quelque chose d'ailleurs que je n'avais jamais trouvé chez les hommes de mon pays. Oui, j'ai reconnu parmi eux plutôt les sentiments des Antilles, et plutôt, comme je l'ai dit, la haine espagnole que la fraternité française.”

August 28.

The alternation between acts of extraordinary vigour, and relapses into chronic feebleness, which mark the administrative course of General Cavaignac, probably arises more from the distracting influences by which he is in turn beset, than from any natural indecision of character. Three days ago,

confidence was given to the friends of public order by the somewhat unusual, if not irregular, step taken by the Government, in bringing forward, without any notice, after midnight, a demand for permission to prosecute two Representatives for the events of May and June.

The discussion upon the Committee of Inquiry had continued till this late hour, and when accused "*d'escamoter une discussion et de faire un coup de théâtre,*" the General gave very sensible reasons for closing a discussion of so irritating a nature and against adjournment till the next day, and thus concluded, amongst marks of very general concurrence on the part of the majority: — "*En descendant de cette tribune, je proteste contre cette pensée d'escamotage ou de coup de théâtre, parce que, je le répète sans affectation, ni moi ni aucun des membres du conseil que j'ai l'honneur de présider, éprouvent un empressement coupable à poursuivre les hommes qui ont contribué à proclamer la République; nous le ferons parce que c'est notre devoir, mais nous n'y trouvons ni plaisir ni entraînement.*"

But the General's alleged *coup de théâtre* was *manqué* in a manner no one expected at the time. The success of any *coup de théâtre* necessarily depends upon its catastrophe; and the result of this declaration of inquiry in favour of this midnight prosecution was, that both the accused, who were in the House up to the time of the division,

were by the time the account of the prosecution was read in the *cafés*, found to have escaped.

This will hardly be considered as miraculous, when it is added that General Cavaignac's Préfet de Police was absent from his post in the Assembly, and did not vote upon the question, giving to the Government the power to arrest, which it would be his duty to execute. Had the accused been arrested in any peculiarly adroit manner, M. Ducoux's absence from his parliamentary post would naturally have been attributed to the arrangements he had to make; and it is now not uncharitable to suppose he had some share in facilitating the arrangements which had a different result, certainly more in accord with his own well-known personal sympathies, but in direct opposition to his official duty. The Director-General of the Post, M. Étienne Arago, voted against the General on these questions of prosecution. Therefore, of the two members of the Government whose official position enabled them most to facilitate the escape of those two alleged criminals, one opposed his employers, and the other was allowed to absent himself.

It is a curious proof of the want of any efficient control over departmental action, that the same M. Ducoux, pretending to give general information as to the state of the city to the Parisians in an official proclamation, never mentions the line which the Government he serves has taken, but persists in asserting that there is no danger to the

public peace but from Bourbonist reaction, and that the days of June were the work of the Bonapartists! I copy out two paragraphs from this whimsical production of the Préfet de Police, which appears in the "Moniteur" of this morning.

"CITOYENS,

"Paris est enfin délivré de toutes les rumeurs colportées et grossies depuis quelques jours par des hommes qui, n'osant pas attaquer la République en face et par les armes, essayent de la tuer traîtreusement et par la défiance. Dans leur impatience, ces propagateurs de panique allaient jusqu'à indiquer le jour et presque l'heure où la France devait s'incliner devant un nouveau prétendant. On recommençait, cette fois, au nom de la dynastie bourbonnienne, l'ignoble parade qui fut jouée, dans les premiers jours de juin, au profit d'un prétendant impérial. Par bonheur, les comédiens ne peuvent plus donner à leurs bouffonneries un dénouement tragique. Une cruelle expérience est venue dessiller les yeux des moins clairvoyants, et personne n'est empressé de se battre pour un roi.

"Ceux qu'un funeste égarement a, un moment, armés contre leurs frères, comprennent aujourd'hui que toute insurrection n'a profité et ne profiterait encore qu'aux ennemis de la République. La Garde Nationale et l'armée, dont les inventeurs de mauvaises nouvelles ont osé soupçonner le patriotisme de la fidélité, témoignent, par leur attitude,

de l'accueil qu'elles réservent aux anarchistes, quel que soit leur drapeau. En un mot, tout le monde veut l'ordre dans la République, et le gouvernement est déterminé à faire respecter énergiquement ce besoin. Si, parmi les mesures employées à cet effet, il en est quelques-unes qui semblent atteindre la liberté, les bons citoyens n'en accuseront que ceux dont l'incorrigible audace nécessite ces moyens transitoires sans lesquels la République ne pourrait s'affermir."

August 31.

There has been a report within the last two or three days, that it is the intention of the friends of the Government to propose to the National Assembly that the First President of the Republic should be elected by that body, and not by universal suffrage. M. Goodchaux, the Minister of Finance, mentioned it to me yesterday, as a determination taken by his party. Of course, should it succeed, it would have for its object to appoint General Cavaignac: for the repose of the country and the present chances of the Republic, a better choice could not be made. But many persons who would not venture at present to offer a direct opposition to the selection of the General, would

base their objection to the measure upon the usurpation by the Assembly of a right which, even by the Constitution just printed and not yet voted, it is not intended to give them; and this assumption, coupled with the avowed design of prolonging its own existence beyond the exercise of those functions for which it was elected, may provoke a spirit of resistance which would bring matters to a crisis sooner than the parties opposed to the Republic would otherwise have been inclined to provoke it.*

* On the 29th of August I made my last communication to the Minister of Finance on the subject of the Savings' Bank. This question, long so cruelly delayed, was now in progress of settlement by a law proposed to the Assembly by M. Goodchaux.

It was hardly worthy of the Government of a great country to enter into a composition with creditors of that class. But all seemed pleased at the prospect of receiving at once more than they hoped latterly ever to obtain. I stated in this last letter to M. Goodchaux, that I quite felt "that those English who remain in France have no right to expect more than the repayment proposed by the present Government; but those who were forced to leave their employment and to quit the country by compulsion of any description since February, have still just claim to repayment in specie, — a promise distinctly made by the Provisional Government last March." In order strictly to limit to this category any claim to exceptional treatment, I had the lists already sent in to the Government revised, and all names of persons omitted whom I had reason to believe were still residing in France.

August 31.

I had some conversation with M. Sénard, the Minister of the Interior, as to the disturbances at Montpellier. He had only received the telegraphic account, which mentioned that the affair had been serious, but that material tranquillity was then restored. He added that he was aware the feeling against the Government was very strong in that part of the country.

Sept. 3.

It was yesterday decided in the Assembly, by a very large majority (529 to 140), that the state of siege should be maintained, and the discussion of the Constitution proceed nevertheless. The short debate, by which this decision was preceded, was principally remarkable for the first indiscretion which General Cavaignac has committed in the tribune. The want of facility in expressing himself has hitherto been a great advantage in his peculiar position. It has given a deliberate character to the few words in which he has slowly and emphatically conveyed his opinions. But, unfortunately, the success which has in consequence

attended his previous efforts has made him overlook its source, and in his first attempt to say more he has said too much.

It never could have been his intention to state that he was determined to make perpetual and irreconcilable war upon any one who attacked the Republican principle, who said that the Republic was "*une chose mauvaise ou insuffisante*," that to such persons they had no answer but the state of siege, for that to the Republic they were ready to sacrifice their repose, their lives, even their honour if necessary. In all this one sees rather the effect of strong convictions struggling with oratorical difficulty of expression, and, as is not unfrequently the case, embarrassment venting itself in unintentional vehemence. I am the less inclined to believe that the General intended to go so far, as it had been arranged only an hour before that he should make an appeal to the moderate party in the Assembly for support, to which M. Odilon Barrot was to have responded. After, however, this unexpected sally of republican vigour going the length of repressing by force any contrary opinions, it was evident assistance could not be volunteered from that quarter, and General Cavaignac admitted afterwards to one of the party that he had taken from himself the right to expect it.

The result, therefore, was that the Government united, in favour of the arbitrary act, the largest majority the Assembly has produced; but did it

in a manner which only gratified the extreme party, whose numerical insignificance they at the same time exposed.

“ On discute sur la définition et sur la portée de l'état du siège.

“ Voici, quant à nous, quelle est notre opinion. Elle se résume en peu de mots. Quand l'état de siège a été prononcé et mis entre nos mains, l'état de siège, c'était la loi du salut public. A l'époque, et cette époque s'éloigne chaque jour, à l'époque récente où nous avons pris la détermination nouvelle qui motive la proposition que je combats en ce moment, qui est ce qui assiégeait encore Paris ? C'était, d'un côté, l'esprit de désordre, spéculant sur la misère d'une partie de la population ; c'était, d'un autre côté, l'esprit de caste et de légitimité, spéculant aussi sur la misère.

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“ Nous ne sommes point autrement curieux de nous préoccuper de faire la guerre, soit aux discussions philosophiques sur les questions d'ordre social, soit aux espérances, aux désirs illégitimes qui peuvent se reporter sur le passé. Mais je crois qu'il est de notre devoir de nous poser comme les ennemis irréconciliable de tous ceux qui traduisent ces discussions philosophiques ou ces vœux en faits, et qui, s'appuyant sur les uns ou sur les autres, déclarent que la République est une chose

mauvaise ou insuffisante, et ne négligent aucun moyen de la renverser.

“Eh bien, c'est à cela, Messieurs, que nous nous croyons appelés à faire, je le répète, une guerre d'hommes irréconciliables; c'est à cela, je le déclare, qu'en ce qui me concerne et en ce qui concerne tous les hommes dévoués qui se sont associés à moi; c'est à cette lutte que nous sommes décidés à livrer tout ce que nous pouvons lui livrer, notre responsabilité, notre repos, notre honneur même, si la République pouvait jamais exiger un pareil sacrifice.

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“Mais, je le répète, et je le répète avec une intention que l'Assemblée doit apprécier, il n'y a qu'une seule chose en présence de laquelle le calme nous reste à grande peine, il n'y a qu'une seule chose contre laquelle nous emploirons, à nos risques et périls, sous notre responsabilité, toutes les armes que l'Assemblée nous a données, c'est l'attaque contre le principe républicain.”

The above are the expressions of the General as reported in the “Moniteur” of this morning, which most excited the indignation of that majority who had promised him their cordial support for the maintenance of social order, on the tacit understanding, as they say, that the ulterior differences of opinion should, for the present, be suppressed. Such, however, is the universal sense of the necessity of main-

taining, at present, the government of General Cavaignac, that though there was much murmuring in the majority of the Assembly at his speech, there was no answer given to it, and the press, thoroughly intimidated by late proceedings, does not this morning contain any hostile comments.

Sept. 3.

There has been an unpleasant quarrel, within the last few days, between Cavaignac and Changarnier. The story is very current, and is said to rest on the authority of an officer on the Staff, who was present. Cavaignac was talking of the feeling of the National Guard, of which Changarnier is the General, and said that, if he found out, as he suspected there were, monarchical intrigues amongst them, he would annihilate them: "Je les ferai éreinter" was his expression. "Perhaps," replied Changarnier, "the National Guards of Paris would not be prepared to allow themselves to be annihilated by a *General of the Fifth Order*." Cavaignac had put himself so much in the wrong by his first speech, that for the time, at least, he could take no notice; but it does not look very well for joint action. However, they are at this moment engaged together in a review of both forces in the Champ de Mars.

Sept. 6.

There must always be, in times of revolution like these, critical moments, when a single act, almost a single word, may change entirely the position of those in power, and alter the character of their influence upon future events. A signal example of this was found in the case of Lamartine. His fall was as sudden as it was deserved, when he in one day exhausted his own favour and expended all his popularity in forcing upon a yet unformed assembly the hated partnership with Ledru-Rollin, of whose political misdeeds the public now knows he was then thoroughly cognisant—a fact of which I was aware, for I had heard the recital of some of them from his own lips. In a defence which he has now published, he assumes that he had but three alternatives, either to assume a sole dictatorship, to retire entirely from public life, or to pursue the course he did by urging on the Assembly the appointment of an Executive Council, of which Ledru-Rollin and himself should be members. Had he, as he primarily expressed his intention of doing, left the selection of a temporary administration to the unbiassed choice of the Assembly, he would have remained Foreign Minister, and they would have given him colleagues who would not have produced the Insurrection of June.

The very night of the vote, I told him with that

frankness which he always encouraged, but which belonged rather to former intimacy than to our public relations, that he had ruined his position in the country. He admitted the immediate effect, but said that it would only last for three weeks: there is not one of his friends who does not now believe it to be for ever.

My opinion in this respect has not been much modified by his re-appearance in the tribune. An oratorical success, with his talents, he can always, to a certain extent, command; but this does not seem likely to restore his permanent political position. Showy sentiments, decked in gorgeous language, will, from any lips, always find momentary favour in an assembly of Frenchmen, but the usual, though perhaps unconscious, perversion of his powers was evident in his last speech; commencing with an energetic denunciation of what has been ever found the inevitable consequence of a system which he views with favour, he endeavours to separate cause and effect, and to plead for tendencies whilst he abjures results: the most dangerous communists were not displeased with his opinions.

M. de Lamartine is fond of strong figures of speech, and not long ago compared himself to a *paratonnerre*, but his real affinity with the elements might be much more accurately described as of quite an opposite character. Never before did a more obtrusive brilliant *feu-follet* dazzle and delude

the regular course of a grave debate. Great as was the admiration of his talent when he resumed his seat, M. Berrard, a plain speaker, shortly afterwards neutralised much of its effect by the simple remark, "What have fine words done for us during the last six months?"

General Cavaignac is now in one of those critical moments which decide the fate of a revolutionary leader. Up to Saturday last he had been chiefly known throughout France as the energetic defender of the cause of social order. No one entirely forgot his former political connections or the strength of his republican principles, but his undoubted sincerity in this respect was rather esteemed as an additional proof how zealous he must be in the sacred cause of which he was now the immediate champion, since the public safety found him a consenting party to so many arbitrary acts which were naturally so repugnant to his love of freedom.

I have previously had occasion to record that there has existed a general desire amongst those with whom the Revolution of February found no favour that the experiment of a Republic should be fairly tried. All these persons were satisfied that the result of the experiment should remain in the hands of General Cavaignac. The most suspicious Republicans could never say afterwards that he had betrayed the cause, whilst the energy with which he had opposed himself to the prospects of a Reign of Terror made the friends of order

believe he would be satisfied with the deliberate expression of the national will, should this be decidedly pronounced against a Republic; and though his principles would not permit him to act the part of Monk himself, he would retire before the opposite alternative of governing through a bloody and tyrannical minority.

Such, I am still convinced, would be his natural disposition, and probably his ultimate decision; but the general confidence in such a result is much shaken by the speech delivered on Saturday last. The impression this speech is, at this moment, producing throughout the country is not to be estimated by its immediate effect upon those to whom it was addressed; my experience of French deliberative assemblies would lead me to believe that they rarely shine in that moral courage which breaks forth under difficult circumstances in impromptu reply; and the conviction that Cavaignac is, at this moment, a necessity, may, no doubt, have been an additional motive for discreet silence. Whilst his words were still ringing in my ears, I gave it as my opinion that one must not criticise too severely the precise expressions of a person who has no oratorical facility, and who was evidently struggling against an embarrassment which he did not choose to show.

Every one, including the Government, has been convinced, within the last two months, that though the existing state of things may, for want of any

obvious resource, be tolerated for some time longer, the Republic has, in fact, no considerable party in the country, except those who would make it synonymous with anarchy. The announcement, therefore, that he would use all the extraordinary powers committed to his charge, even at the sacrifice of all that is dear to man, for the preservation of that Republic, is, in point of fact, the declaration of a political fanatic, capable of any extremities. The sad conclusion one derives from this is the impossibility of the long continuance of internal peace; but the time and the measure of the conflict must depend upon the result of many questions at this moment in agitation.

The Assembly yesterday came to a decision, by a very large majority, that it could prolong its own existence after the vote of the Constitution until it had passed what were called the organic laws. The justice of this decision must be determined by what those organic laws are. Certainly, as the Constitution seems to me to settle nothing, if they think they can add to it any laws calculated to give it stability, and sufficiently connected with its provisions, it would be natural that the work should be perfected by the same hands; but the impression throughout the country will be that this is a vote founded on selfish motives, and a desire to prolong a political existence personally advantageous to many of the members. One cannot

wonder that such should be the impression, when Sénard, the Minister of the Interior, told me, in conversation, the other day, that the feeling of the country now was such that, if there was a general election, not two hundred out of the nine would be again returned.

I postpone my observations upon the effect of the proposition to elect the President by the Assembly, instead of by the people, as I understand the friends of the Government have not as yet decided to bring forward that amendment.

The effect of foreign war upon the duration of the Republic is variously estimated. I fear that the additional difficulty I have latterly found in controlling the impatience of General Cavaignac in those questions of foreign policy immediately under discussion, arises from a growing conviction, urged upon him by many, that the best safety for the Republic is to be found in war. I saw with great regret some passages in a letter of his to a diplomatic agent, in which he alluded to the revolutionary excitement in other countries, which he must make available if abandoned by England and attacked by the rest of Europe. These I believe to be the suggestions of others, and not his own sentiments; and I have yet to convince myself, by farther experience, whether the General may not be a man of plastic resolves under a firm exterior. He has a great desire to appear decided, which leads to momentary energy;

but in any difficulty or emergency he may be one of those who almost unconsciously yield to the constant suggestions of others, skilfully applied, though against their own convictions. So much at this moment, not only in France but in Europe, depends upon the personal character of this statesman, that it is natural one's mind should be constantly occupied with the attempt to estimate accurately the stability of his character under conflicting influences and accumulating difficulties.

CHAP. XVIII.

DINNER TO CAVAIGNAC AND THE CORPS DIPLOMATIQUE. — DEBATE ON THE AMENDMENTS UPON THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION. — M. THIERS' DEFINITION OF HIS POLITICAL POSITION. — M. GOUDCHAUX ON THE DUTIES OF HUMANITY. — RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS. — COUNT MOLÉ ELECTED A. MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY. — DEPUTATION TO CAVAIGNAC. — ADMISSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON. — HIS FIRST SPEECH. — DISCUSSION UPON THE "IMPÔT PROGRESSIF." — QUESTION OF ONE OR TWO CHAMBERS. — SPEECHES OF MM. ODILON-BARBOT AND LAMARTINE. — RELATIVE POSITIONS OF CAVAIGNAC AND LOUIS NAPOLEON. — THE PRESIDENT TO BE ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. — DISCUSSION ON DEMOCRATIC BANQUETS AT TOULOUSE, ETC. — CHANGES IN THE BUREAUX OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. — DIVISION ON THE QUESTION OF ARMED INTERVENTION. — EMBARRASSING POSITION OF CAVAIGNAC. — DIFFERENT MODES OF ELECTION DISCUSSED. — AMENDMENT TO EXCLUDE MEMBERS OF ANY PREVIOUS REIGNING FAMILY.

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Sept. 10.

I GAVE a great dinner yesterday to Cavaignac and the Corps Diplomatique, which went off very well. Marrast, the President of the Assembly, excused himself, on the plea of illness; but Cavaignac told me he believed it was on account of the doubt

as to their relative precedence, as some of the members had told him he ought, as their President, to go before everybody. It never had occurred to me that he could think of taking precedence of Cavaignac, to whom we were all accredited. As to his relative position with my colleagues, I had left it to Bastide to decide. I said that if he chose to treat him as the President of a Sovereign Assembly, and to give him the *pas*, he would then, of course, take precedence of the ambassadors; but if not, I could not separate the foreign minister and the nuncio. Bastide, after consulting Marrast, settled to maintain his own place; upon which determination some of the sticklers for *égalité* subsequently made their President lose his dinner. However, as it was settled entirely amongst themselves, I felt no responsibility as to my decision.

Sept. 15.

The result of the elections in Paris is still very uncertain. Yesterday, General Cavaignac told me he thought they would be very bad; but this morning his report is that the Communists have not been chosen.

The endeavour has been that those who are to

be returned should be neither Anarchistes nor Réactionnaires, but though it is certainly desirable for the cause of order that the present Government should be maintained, yet, as the number in Paris of those who have neither been disappointed in what they have failed to obtain, nor disgusted at what they have lost, is small, the result of universal suffrage must be very doubtful.

I have not been able to attend the Assembly as uninterruptedly as usual, during the last four days. The discussion which has occupied that number of consecutive sittings of the Assembly has been that of an amendment of M. Mathieu de la Drôme upon the 8th Article of the Constitution, which, in general terms, declares what the new Government undertakes as its duty towards the people; into this the mover of the amendment attempted to introduce words which those who opposed him held to establish, in one shape or another, that *droit de travail*—the watch-word of the disciples of Socialism when they do not choose to alarm by more comprehensive demands. The amendment of M. Mathieu de la Drôme was in the end withdrawn, in order that one somewhat more palatable in its expressions should be substituted. But to English ears there was nothing very alarming in one or other version; this was a case in which the *men* made the mischief, not the words. It was their known opinions which gave point to their phrases.

M. Mathieu de la Drôme's amendment, speaking

of the Republic. says, "Elle reconnaît à tous les citoyens le droit à l'instruction, au travail, et à l'assistance." This having been for obvious reasons objected to, M. Glaise Bizoin's amendment was substituted. "Le droit à l'existence par le travail et à l'assistance," in point of fact, says no more than is intended by our poor laws, which date from the days of Good Queen Bess, when, certainly, Communism was not in the ascendant; yet everybody felt that the interpretation which would now be put upon the acceptance of these, not to our ears very dangerous words, would excite the most impossible expectations. I feel it out of the question, to give, amongst other engrossing occupations, anything like an analysis of this very long discussion.

M. Thiers, at the commencement of a great speech, thus gave a definition of his political position, rather than a profession of his political faith: —

"Citoyens Représentants.—Je veux, à mon tour, user du droit dont vous usez tous de contribuer à la Constitution, qui doit faire les destinées de notre pays.

"Mes amis et moi nous attachons à cette Constitution une grande importance. Nous n'avons pas fait, nous n'avons pas désiré la République, nous l'acceptons, nous l'acceptons loyalement, sincèrement. Pour tout homme de bon sens, pour tout honnête homme, le Gouvernement légal de son

pays est toujours digne de tous ses respects. Nous n'avons jamais conspiré, nous ne conspirerons jamais. Nous n'avons ni flatté ni trahi la Royauté, nous ne flatterons ni ne trahirons la République.

"Nous avons dans tous les temps désiré la liberté, non pas celle des factions, mais celle qui consiste à mettre les affaires du pays à l'abri de la double influence et des Cours et des Rues."

Many speakers had attempted, in the course of these discussions, to prove the danger of adopting the amendment, and, on the other hand, the more imminent peril of appearing to reject its purport; but M. Lamartine, towards the conclusion of the debate, declared that he did not intend to support it, that he should not vote for it; yet his speech tended to prove that if the Assembly did otherwise they would not have the courage of their opinions. "Ayez l'audace de vos bonnes pensées; ne vous défiez pas de vous-mêmes; osez avouer toutes vos bonnes pensées. Vos âmes en sont pleines, je le sais, je n'accuse que votre timidité dans le bien." And he wound up a discourse in which generous sentiments had, as usual, flowed forth in gorgeous language, with a peroration in which he paraphrased Danton's famous cry "De l'audace, citoyens, de l'audace, et encore de l'audace!" with "Du cœur, citoyens, du cœur, et toujours du cœur pour le peuple, et le peuple donnera le sien, à vous et à la République!" And then, not being able, I suppose, to convince himself how this applied to the

question before them, he left the Assembly without voting in one way or the other, either for the amendment on which he had spoken, or for the *sous* amendment which had been substituted. Rather a singular conclusion, practically, for one who had just accused others of not having "l'audace de leurs bonnes pensées." The conclusion of the debate was enlivened by a most unexpected outbreak on the part of M. Goudchaux, the Minister of Finance, who was opposing the amendment, then under consideration, of M. Glaise Bizoin. He had already made the confession the other day, as will be recollected, that the Republic had taken the country by surprise, that no one was prepared for it, that it was, in short, the Government of the Minority; and yet, being a member of that Government of an avowed minority, he took an unprovoked occasion to quarrel with the largest and most formidable section of that minority. In defining his notions of the duties of humanity, he turned to the extreme left of the Chamber and said, "Eh bien, cette humanité, *Montagnards*, n'a pas besoin de vous; elle ne reculera pas devant vos cris; cette humanité monte, elle montera sans vous, malgré vous, parce que vos doctrines tendraient, à votre insu, à l'amoindrir, à la perdre." I always think the last tumult I hear in the Assembly is the loudest, but certainly the outcries which now pursued M. Goudchaux would bear comparison with any preceding row. When Lagrange at last obtained a hearing, he enraged

some and diverted others by saying, "Rappelez-vous donc, citoyens, que la grande question aujourd'hui c'est celle de la conciliation. Eh bien, laissez donc de côté, et n'insultez pas surtout ce nom de *Montagnards*. Il n'y a ici ni Montagnards ni Girondins. Montagnards? Ah! nous n'avons pas, hélas! les épaules assez larges pour porter dignement un si grand nom." Lagrange's allusion to "les épaules assez larges" caused some amusement, as he looks himself like a hair mop stuck on the top of a pole, with a pair of eager eyes glaring out of the dishevelled mass above and around.

Mr. Goudchaux was obliged, by the advice of his colleagues, to profess he had not meant to insult any one, and then the amendment establishing "le droit à l'existence par le travail et à l'assistance" was negated by 596 to 187.

I have not by me the text of our own original Poor Laws, and should not have time to study its provisions if it were here, but it seems that no Poor Law, honest and equal in its provisions, could exist which might not bear such a preamble as was here rejected. The right "à l'existence par le travail et (or rather *ou*) à l'assistance" would seem not to provide for any arbitrary regulation of labour, but simply that no one shall die of starvation, but should have a legal provision, either for work or relief. This the English poor always had, and, I trust, always will have; and all our amendments in the Law have been to regulate, never to abrogate, this

great principle. M. Lamartine was, in his allusions to the English system, much more accurate than that most precise of orators, M. Dufaure.

Sept. 20.

At the moment at which I am writing, the result of the elections is not officially known, and the returns from one of the *banlieue* may still alter the relative position of one or two names; but the expectation, at present, is that the successful candidates will be Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, Achille Fould, and Raspail, the Communist, at present in the Fort of Vincennes for his share in the attack upon the Assembly on the 15th of May. Achille Fould, if nominated, about which there seems some doubt, will represent the feelings excited by the commercial ruin of the middle classes of Paris, who have, whatever their political opinions may be, turned their attention towards him from a general opinion of his qualities as a first-rate financier, which I trust he may justify.

The nomination of Louis Napoleon at the head of the poll is involved as yet in some mystery, which I cannot, at this moment, undertake satisfactorily to explain.

He was violently opposed by the "Réforme" newspaper and most of the clubs, and, as the three socialist candidates are not far separated in their relative numbers, it would appear he has been adopted by various parties as the most obnoxious to the Government and an incarnation of the general discontent felt at the existing state of things.

Sept. 22.

Never, since the Revolution of February, except during the very height of the contest in June, has it been so impossible to speculate with confidence, what may be the turn of events during the next few days.

The elections have shown the impotence of the present Government, so long as they do not frankly ally themselves with one of the parties which divide amongst them the suffrages of the people. Not one candidate recommended by the Administration has been anywhere returned. In Paris the Communists and Red Republicans acted in concert, and with admirable unity, as it appears, since there was hardly any difference of importance between the numbers of their candidates.

The only other sincere Republican who offered himself represented the Government, or what is

called the "National" shade of opinion. M. Edmond Adam was much respected for his personal character, had acted with great moderation during the first days of the Revolution, but though recommended also by both the "Constitutionnel" and "Journal des Debats," in their lists of compromise, he was very much behind both the others—not only behind M. Fould, who was returned, but also M. Roger du Nord, who was little known as a politician except as a personal friend and warm adherent of M. Thiers.

At Bordeaux, M. Molé has been returned by a very large majority over M. Compans, the Procureur de la République. At Lyons the successful opponent to M. Raspail was not even a moderate republican, but M. Kinet, who had for many years been a member of the former Chamber of Deputies, a Conseiller d'État, and whose opinions are of an intermediate shade between those of M. Molé and M. Dufaure. At Lille, Colonel Négrier's nomination has, I am told, no political signification; he is a mere soldier, and owes his election to respect for his brother's memory and sympathy for his honourable death in the days of June. So strong an indication of national feeling would be clear enough, if it was not complicated by the different interpretations which have been put upon the nomination of Louis Bonaparte. It was at first supposed that he had been assisted by the Red Republicans, but the identity of the numbers of the latter proves

that he can have derived very few votes from that quarter. I believe he was supported, as I have stated before, by very many who agreed in no other opinion than in dislike of the present state of affairs. However, as it is evident he is the *point de mire* of the moment, the moderate portion of the Assembly, represented by the Rue du Poitiers Réunion, thought it a fitting opportunity to come to an understanding with General Cavaignac as to his future course. A deputation was directed to wait upon him to state that they felt the debt of gratitude the country owed him for his conduct in the events of June, that there was no desire to call in question the personal character he had so honourably obtained, but that it was necessary in all established Governments that the Ministers should be chosen from amongst those who possessed the confidence of the people; that it was evident the country had not that confidence in many of his advisers, and they themselves had personal experience of their incapacity. They then suggested to him amongst others the names of M. Vivien and M. Dufaure, as men who would unite the confidence of the majority of the Assembly.

I am informed that General Cavaignac received their representations with great courtesy, expressed a high opinion of the gentlemen named, and a desire to avail himself of their services in time, but said that it was now too soon. The great point was to get the Constitution settled, that after-

wards he should be very glad to strengthen the Administration. It appears that the deputation were but indifferently satisfied with this answer; they thought they saw in it a determination not to break entirely with the Mountain, even amidst the difficulties of the present moment—the danger of an Imperialist movement, and the general discontent of the Departments.

There was another meeting at the Rue de Poitiers last night, at which M. Thiers made a very decided speech. Neither he nor M. de Rémusat had been for pressing the nomination of individual members, as they had no wish to form any part of such combination at present; but they had suggested that, to secure the support of the moderate party, four-and-twenty Préfets ought to be changed immediately.

Sept. 23.

I think, amongst the various events which have marked the changes of the last few months, and which I have in turn recorded within these pages, I ought not to omit all mention of the fact of the entrance of Count Molé, as the representative for the Department of the Gironde, into the National Assembly. The first appearance there of

the oldest, the most statesmanlike, and the most universally esteemed of the servants of Louis-Philippe, created quite a sensation. Count Molé was most warmly greeted by his numerous acquaintance, and treated with marked respect by all who came in contact with him, even by those to whom he could be known only by name and character.

Sept. 23.

In considering the position of General Cavaignac, surrounded, at a moment of difficulty, by a mere clique of the "National," I have always felt that it was quite impossible to attempt, for any length of time, to govern the country exclusively through the means of men who had neither the habit of affairs nor the sympathies of the great majority of the people. This opinion I have ventured to suggest to him on occasions presented by the frankness of our intercourse, and I am glad to see that he seems now endeavouring, by degrees, to include in his Government men who by their capacity could render best service to their country, without considering whether they were like himself, Republicans from conviction, or merely from the force of circumstances. His appointment of M. Beaumont to London may be taken as the first move in that

direction ; his proposal of M. Vivien as Plenipotentiary at the ensuing conferences as a proof that he means to persevere in that course ; and the intention, of which I was informed, in the course of the next few days, to offer a department in the Ministry to M. Dufaure, is a further step in the same direction. The general has often spoken feelingly of the conflicting difficulties by which he was surrounded, stating that, though the Republicans were in a decided minority in the country, it was a considerable one, and the more formidable because they were men of action ; and he added that such was the nature of the people with whom he had to deal, that many who did not like the Republic, were yet not prepared for a return to Monarchy, which had been thoroughly discredited in France.

The result of my conversations is satisfactory to my mind, as showing that, though General Cavaignac may not in his conduct always display that energy which might be the result of a greater confidence in his own powers, he is disposed to take a dispassionate and rational view of the state of the country, and of the difficulties of his own position.

Sept. 26.

I have just returned from witnessing the admission of Louis Bonaparte into the Assembly. He came quietly in at a side-door, and took his seat (at first unperceived) upon a back bench during a dull speech, which his presence tended to shorten. When admitted, he made a short speech, repelling calumnies, professing love of country, and desire to work out those *democratic* institutions which the people had a right to expect. He wished to contribute to *l'affermissement de la République*. This was well received, but not with any remarkable enthusiasm.

Sept. 27.

Here is the speech of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, as given in this morning's "Moniteur," whose first appearance in the Assembly yesterday did not produce the sensation which the previous flourish of trumpets would have led me to expect:—

"Louis Napoléon fait son entrée à la chambre, et prononce le discours suivant :

" "Citoyens représentants, il ne m'est pas permis de garder le silence après les calomnies dont j'ai été l'objet.

“ ‘Après trente-trois années de proscription et d'exil, je retrouve enfin ma patrie, et tous mes droits de citoyen !

“ ‘La République m'a fait ce bonheur ; que la République reçoive mon serment de reconnaissance, mon serment de dévouement, et que les généreux compatriotes qui m'ont porté dans cette enceinte soient certains que je m'efforcerai de justifier leurs suffrages en travaillant avec vous au maintien de la tranquillité, ce premier besoin du pays, et au développement des institutions démocratiques que le peuple a droit à réclamer.

“ ‘Longtemps je n'ai pu consacrer à la France que les méditations de l'exil et de la captivité. Aujourd'hui la carrière où vous marchez m'est ouverte ; recevez-moi dans vos rangs, mes chers collègues, avec le même sentiment d'affectueuse confiance que j'y apporte. Ma conduite, toujours inspirée par le devoir, toujours animée par le respect de la loi, ma conduite prouvera à l'encontre des passions qui ont essayé de me noircir, pour me proscrire encore, que nul ici plus que moi n'est résolu à se devouer à la défense de l'ordre et à l'affermissement de la République.' ”

Sept. 26.

The Assembly was occupied yesterday first with a final discussion upon the *impôt progressif*, and

then with the commencement of the discussion upon the question of two Chambers. These produced two incidents, which are both calculated to influence the duration of the present order of things in France; but whilst the first showed how much was to be done by a little firmness on the part of the depositaries of power, the second indicated the danger which exists, that the Republic will be destroyed by the very agent commissioned for its establishment.

The speech of M. Ledru-Rollin, presiding at a banquet at the Châlet, given in celebration of the anniversary of the First French Republic, had had the effect of alarming the better judgment, and exciting the personal resentment, of the Executive Government; and I was well aware that the first opportunity would be taken to repudiate, on their part, the subversive doctrines he had promulgated. To this may be traced the energetic, though somewhat irregular, expressions of General Cavaignac in support of the view at first timidly put forward by his Minister of Finance; and one hopes that the immense majority which rejected the doubtful words proposed by the Commission, lest they should appear to leave open the question of complicated spoliation which bears the name of *impôt progressif*, will tend to strengthen the Government in the country.

The discussion upon the question of one or two Chambers was opened by M. Duvergier d'Hau-

rannes, in an able speech, embracing several telling truths placed with much effect in new and striking lights; but though he concluded by saying, most justly, that the Republic could only be permanently saved by adopting his amendment, every one knew that the determination was almost unanimous amongst those who professed Republican principles, to fly in the face of all experience, and try their experiment with a single Chamber.

Sept. 28.

The speech of M. Odilon Barrot on the amendment in the *projet de constitution*, proposing to institute two Legislative Chambers, produced an immense sensation. It was, in all the qualities which distinguish an orator, certainly one of the best speeches that have been pronounced in the National Assembly. It was true, earnest, clear, comprehensive, and, above all, courageous. The impression was very striking when he alluded, with manly pride, to the disinterested integrity of his public career. Whatever defect of political sagacity as to means may sometimes be imputed to M. Odilon Barrot, no one ever justly questioned the enlightened patriotism of his ends. The objection taken to his reform-agitation last year, was founded, indeed, chiefly on the inaccurate estimate he had

formed of the capacity of his countrymen to take up an intermediate position between political torpor and revolutionary violence.

Upon the question itself, the weak point of any amendment was the difficulty of finding materials out of which to constitute a competent second Chamber; and whilst this deficiency forced itself on every reflecting mind, it is less surprising that I should have found, in the course of confidential personal communications during the last six months with some of the most distinguished Republicans, that very many have regretted, as the cause of all their difficulties, the absence in France of any such social element as the English aristocracy. The speech of Lamartine was more practical than usual, as he addressed himself specially to the exigencies of the moment in his opposition to the creation of a second Chamber.

I was particularly struck by the objection, which appears to me practical as well as forcibly stated, to the only real distinction between the composition of one Chamber and the other which the present state of society in France has left. It has done its best to obliterate all distinctions; but in one nature triumphs over all levelling pretensions—that of age. This proposition, which had occurred as an expedient to every one, M. Lamartine scouted, with considerable effect, in these words: “What is to mark the division of your two Chambers? *Est-ce l’âge?* Mais vous déferiez cette œuvre admirable,

cette combinaison divine de la nature, qui mêle les âges divers dans la même génération, pour que les faiblesses d'un âge soient corrigées par la force et la maturité d'un autre âge, pour que la vieillesse et la jeunesse, l'enfance et la virilité, forment cette moyenne qui fait l'équilibre des facultés dans le genre humain. Quoi ! vous scinderiez ces forces différentes dans votre Corps Législatif à deux actes de naissance ! Vous placeriez, comme la Constitution de l'an trois, *là* tous les hommes d'expérience et de tradition, tous les vétérans de la politique ; *ici* tous les jeunes enthousiasmes, toutes les fougues, toutes les impatiences ; *là* le nécropole des vivants, *ici* l'inexpérience et l'entraînement naturel à la jeunesse !

“Vous vous priveriez vous-même, vous, Chambre Démocratique, de toute la majesté, de toute l'autorité que Dieu, la nature, et les hommes ont attachées de tout temps au signe des années glorieusement et laborieusement employées au service du pays.”

The majority was large — 530 to 289 — from the desire that many felt to be on the winning side on a popular question, when once it was ascertained that the proposal of the Commission would be maintained ; and it must be owned that the details of M. Duvergier d'Hauranne's amendment were not well developed, and presented in themselves many practical difficulties. But what have they to deal

with here, but apparently overwhelming difficulties? If, on the one side, it was proved to demonstration, by M. Odilon Barrot, that a single popular Assembly must, if temporary, be a Constituent, — if permanent, must become a Convention, — that it could never exist with the conflicting powers of a temporary executive; if, on the other hand, it was made equally evident by M. Lamartine, that there were not to be found the materials in France for a division into two Chambers, that any such attempt must be a prejudice and a detriment; if the creation now struggling into life can never work as it is, and if there exist not the means of amending it, — the conclusion is inevitable, that the Constitution of 1848 cannot by possibility last.

Sept. 29.

The mode of election for the President of the Republic threatens to become a source of discord amongst the friends of order, and the imminent cause of confusion. The whole of the Union of the Rue de Poitiers, with insignificant exceptions, have decided that they will not consent to transfer the election from the people to the Assembly. Their language is very strong on this subject; and they

declare that, should the majority of the Assembly be against them, they will retire and take no part in the ultimate vote. This would of course destroy the moral authority of the election, and would irritate the electors in the provinces against the Assembly, which they already consider to have exceeded all delegated powers, in prolonging its own existence beyond the creation of the Constitution. This reunion or parliamentary club consists, as I have before stated, of the most moderate portion of the Assembly, is much more numerous than any other division, but does not in itself constitute a majority. I understand, however, in the meeting at the "Institut," which is an offshot from the original Club of the Palais National, there is a considerable party, headed by Garnier-Pagès, which means to unite with those of the Rue de Poitiers in opposing the election by the Assembly, with a view to overthrow General Cavaignac.

In the Palais National, which is the meeting of the pure Republicans of advanced opinions, but who are still opposed to what is called the Red Republic, there is an almost unanimous feeling for the election by the Assembly.

The Rue Taitbout, where the meeting of the Montagne is held, including the Communists and Socialists, has not as yet decidedly pronounced itself. Some object to any President; others wait to see what course will promote most surely their own extreme objects; and some are determined to sup-

port Cavaignac, whom they hate, at the sacrifice of universal suffrage, which has been their watchword, because they believe that any other course must lead to the destruction of the Republic. It is rather singular how general the distrust of the effect of universal suffrage is amongst this Assembly,—those who are at once its creation and its founders for the future.

I have reason to believe that the Government have not yet quite decided whether they will persevere in their intention of having the election, if possible, by the Assembly, in spite of those obstacles which are opposed to its success, and which would certainly paralyse the power thus conferred. It must be recollected that this Assembly can only continue its existence a few months longer; and then the President would be left for three years the ghost of a government which had passed away; and as the new elections would probably be made under some exasperation amongst the voters, against an act by which they would consider themselves to have been swindled of their rights, he might find himself in direct opposition with the majority of the legislative body. If the first act of a new Assembly were to elect a President, and they had to run their course together, there would, at any rate, probably be unity of purpose, whatever might be the want of independent action on the part of the Executive Power.

On the other hand, there is no probability, at this

moment, that any person would unite by universal suffrage that absolute majority, which would make his election final. The individual who, at this moment, might unite the greatest numerical support would be the Duc de Bordeaux; but it would be easy to prove that by existing laws he is disqualified, and that votes given to him would be thrown away. But it is not the same with Louis Bonaparte; once admitted as a representative, he cannot be treated as a Pretender. If General Cavaignac had anything like a parity of votes with Louis Napoleon, it would be easy, should there be no absolute majority, for the Assembly to select him out of the names then submitted to them; but there is great reason to believe that his position on the poll will render this impossible. The great majority of the leading men of the country are still anxious that, under existing circumstances, Cavaignac should be President. All despair of attaining that end by the machinery at present proposed by the Constitution; and all disapprove of the expedient by which it is intended to attain the object.

It is curious that in this attempt to complete the French Republic, its founders are at every step embarrassed by the want of that which they have destroyed, and the effect of that which they have created. There is no doubt that this election must bring on a perilous crisis, and the more so as the Red Republicans are preparing to profit without delay by the confusion.

October 1st.

An incident occurred in the National Assembly yesterday, seeming to show that it is not without reason the moderate party attach great importance to the change in some departments connected with the internal government of the country. It is more especially in the provinces desirable that the cause of social order should not be betrayed by the local and subordinate authorities, of which General Cavaignac has the appointment and the removal. The recent democratic banquets in the South were brought forward in the Assembly by M. Denjoy, who unfortunately did not show a discretion equal to his courage and ability, and by appearing, at the same time, to attack the banquet in celebration of the Proclamation of the first Republic, at which M. Ledru-Rollin and most of the Mountain had assisted, at the Châlet on the 22nd of last month, raised such a storm as to oblige the President to cover himself and to suspend the sitting for a time; the orator at length made it quite clear that at Toulouse the Préfet, the Procureur de la République, and the other local functionaries, attended a banquet which was given in honour of "la République Démocratique et Sociale," and against "la République Réactionnaire, qui a commencé le 4 *Mai* dernier," the day of the meeting of the Assembly, and that the peculiar object

of the meeting was to protest against the Assembly for having refused to the people their rights by a recent vote.

M. Denjoy then added, on his own responsibility, that the banqueters had afterwards paraded the town great part of the night, shouting "Vive Barbès!" "Vive Robespierre!" "Vive Marat!" "Vive la Montagne!" "Vive la Guillotine!" Of all these, the only one energetically denied was, "Vive la Guillotine!" and if it were, as was still insisted by M. Denjoy, really uttered, it was probably by some one whose potations of the rich red wine of the neighbourhood had been somewhat too copious. But after all the disclaimers of some of the parties, and all the explanations of the Minister of the Interior, quite enough remained to show that it was an occasion at which no one entrusted with authority for the maintenance of the public peace ought to have assisted.

Oct. 3.

I heard yesterday from M. Bastide, as a last decision, that the Government have given up the idea of attempting to procure the election of the President by the Chamber. M. Bastide told me there were so many difficulties in the way, that they had determined to adhere to the chances of

universal suffrage. Those chances he did not consider as at all desperate for the nomination of General Cavaignac, as he believed the clergy were not unfavourably disposed towards him. Much, in my opinion, must depend upon the line the General takes between this time and the day of election. It is possible that, as the Legitimists well know the Duc de Bordeaux to be disqualified, they will not propose any candidate ; but he whom they collectively favour will most likely succeed, from the state of feeling in the provinces.

It is not useless, as a test of the ebbs and flows of public opinion, to remark the monthly renewal of the Bureaux of the National Assembly. Yesterday's list contains the following amongst the fifteen names of Presidents : —

ODILON BARROT,
LÉON DE MALEVILLE,
MOLÉ,
THIERS,
LACROSSE,
DE RÉMUSAT,
DUFAYRE,
DUVERGIER D'HAURANNES,
DE TRACY.

All of these were formerly members of what was called the Dynastic Opposition, and most of them at different times members of Louis-Philippe's Cabinets. The other six names include no member of the

ultra-democratic party, and only two members of Provisional Government, Arago and Dupont de l'Eure, who, both of them, have other more universally admitted claims to distinction.

Oct. 3.

Here is a division which certainly requires some explanation as a question of foreign policy.

For the *ordre du jour, pur et simple*, as accepted by General Cavaignac, 411: for an order of the day *motivé*, supported by MM. Flocon and Ledru-Rollin, 336. If this were the real balance of opinion in the Assembly, between the policy of the Government and that of the Mountain, upon the question of armed intervention, the peace of the world would be much more seriously threatened than I have hitherto had reason to believe; but much of this confusion arose from the inexperience of all connected with the Government in the management of parliamentary tactics. This want of discipline, coupled with the overpowering noise which closes almost every debate, makes it often impossible for many to understand the nature of the question on which they have to decide.

General Cavaignac required simply a vote of confidence in his conduct of the negotiation,

confirming his refusal of any further explanation. The tone of the speech of M. Ledru-Rollin disposed the Assembly much to give this vote. On the other hand, they were distracted by an amendment, skilfully proposed by M. Flocon, which merely referred to the act of the Assembly itself on the 24th of May, as the basis of the negotiation, and then likewise passed to the order of the day. The vote took place without any discussion upon this point, and the effect was so far unfortunate, that it seemed as if that large minority, which without explanation separated itself from the Government, adopted the politics of M. Ledru-Rollin whose speech was the only one made on that side.

The absence of all parliamentary discipline was shown by Colonel Charras, the Under Secretary of the War Department, and Captain Bertrand, one of General Cavaignac's aides-de-camp, as well as M. Ducoux, the Préfet de Police, voting against the Government. The result I derived from an observation of all the incidents of this discussion is, that the vast majority of the Assembly is sincerely desirous of peace, and that they would be thoroughly satisfied with any result which would secure to Italy the substantial benefits of self-government; but that both the susceptibility of the French national character, and the positive nature of their previous declarations, deliberative as well as executive, require some management; and that

in a moment of excitement they might be driven to take steps the consequences of which they deprecate, but which there would be no governmental power strong enough to resist.

Oct. 5.

I gave but two days ago, as a last decision, the intelligence that I had derived from M. Bastide, that the Government had renounced its intention of endeavouring to procure the nomination of the President by the Assembly. I understand that in consequence of this decision, which was the result of the vote in the Commission on the Constitution, of nine to five against the change proposed, it had been arranged that M. Dufaure and M. Tocqueville should become members of the Cabinet; but the next day, for some reason not publicly explained, the Government having changed their mind and decided to attempt to carry their wishes in the Assembly, M. de Tocqueville and M. Dufaure felt, as they were in the majority of the Commission who had come to a different conclusion, they could not, at present, accept office.

It is evident to me that General Cavaignac sees the difficulties of the position which would be created for him, if this mode of election was only

carried by a bare majority ; but his overruling sentiment is that the alternative would be to have Louis Napoleon elected, who would, he thinks, soon be transformed into an emperor ; that there then would be either war and confusion, or a Legitimist restoration.

It would not be becoming to press upon the General the practical censure he was thus passing upon universal suffrage, which was the one thing that had hitherto remained unchanged of the institutions created in February, but his attention should be called to the embarrassments he is preparing for himself personally.

He himself could hardly expect that the proposition would be carried by more than a bare majority : that majority would represent the balanced opinion of a legislature which, before many months were over, would cease to exist. He would then find himself in contact with a new Assembly, elected with feelings still soured towards him by the mode of his nomination, which could have had no excuse except distrust of the country. But his difficulties in the conduct of the Government would not only be legislative but executive. He has often said that he could not long govern the country through men who had neither capacity for affairs, nor popular favour ; he would, therefore, be soon obliged to sacrifice those who had contributed to his election, and to choose his ministers from amongst others who had most strongly objected

to the mode in which that power had been conferred, a power they would be called upon to share.

The General appears to feel all these objections. He does not himself take any part in the discussions, nor attend the Assembly during their progress; but he declares, that if it should be decided to adhere to universal suffrage, he should then mount the tribune, and entreat that the country might be put in a position to decide the question within a month, as he was quite ready to resign that power which circumstances had conferred upon him, or continue to exercise it, should the country so decide; but that he could not bear the lingering responsibility of a temporary elevation.

If the General persists in this feeling, which is natural in the present state of the country, he will create great embarrassment, as many of the moderate Republicans trust to persuading him to continue for six months longer as he is, which would certainly be very desirable in the present state of Europe.

M. de Tocqueville has just concluded an able speech, explaining why the Commission would not accept the amendment. He stoutly denies the right of a Constituent Assembly to elect a future Government; their functions ended with the creation of a Constitution, and they were not competent to decide who was to constitute the

Government after they had themselves finished their career.

Oct. 8.

After a discussion which lasted four days, and was of very unequal interest, the great point of principle as to the mode of election by which the President of the Republic is to be chosen has been decided, by a majority of about three to one, against the nomination by the Assembly, and against, at the same time, the wishes of the Government. The numbers were 204 to 601. The period of the first election yet remains to be fixed.

One may admit, as the great distinction between monarchical and republican institutions, that the executive power is, in the last case, to be derived in some shape or other directly from the popular will by election, and that in the first it is transferred from one occupant to another by some recognised right.

The different modes of election were here discussed, and it would have been impossible for the most skilful advocate of the monarchical system to produce a more irresistible conviction in its favour, than any impartial observer must derive from the conflicting arguments of those who, each in turn, once or twice most successfully, exhibited the in-

conveniences of the system they were combating, without being able to deny the inevitable dangers of the alternative.

It will be recollected that this was a discussion in which no one, for the present, ventured to profess a preference for the monarchical form of government; yet, if they were sincere in their reasoning, it was impossible not to believe that their internal conviction was that a constitutional sovereign would equally well exercise all the functions of their President, without exposing the State to those constantly recurring dangers of election which every one foresaw.

It is unnecessary to point to the undeniable truth of the assertion, on one side, that if elected by the Assembly, the President would be the creature of a parliamentary faction, and would be said by all his adversaries to have obtained his election by corruption and intrigue. If he were the creation of universal suffrage, there was every chance that the most superficial and transitory claims to notoriety might, at any moment, inflict upon the country, for four years, a governor utterly unfitted to exercise any of the functions with which he was intrusted, and yet naturally unwilling to subside into that personal inactivity which, when the chances of hereditary succession have been most unfavourable, has generally been found the permanent condition of a constitutional sovereign. I believe there is hardly a Republican who would not now

acknowledge, as preferable to an elected President, a constitutional sovereign who, by education and character, should duly understand and appreciate the nature of his Royal functions, selecting with patriotic judgment those rare occasions on which it becomes his duty to exercise a direct influence, always respected because never abused. But in the case of the late King, Louis-Philippe, his fall was no doubt caused by his never understanding that saying of M. Thiers, "The King reigns but does not govern!" And even here many would now think the jarring action thus occasioned in the constitutional machine a minor evil compared with the constant conflicts to which every election of a President, in such a country as France, must expose the march of government.

The most remarkable speech in the discussion was certainly that of M. Lamartine. I have never heard him speak so well since the Revolution; but it was the most eloquent condemnation, as a whole, of the Government of which he had formed a part, and a desponding picture of the prospects of the Republic of which he was the principal founder. The whole of his peroration was so favourable a specimen of his peculiar style of oratory, in its way unrivalled, that I copy, with feelings of great admiration, the last passages:—

Le Citoyen Lamartine. — "Je sais bien qu'il y a des dangers graves dans les deux systèmes, qu'il y a des moments d'aberration dans les mul-

titudes, qu'il y a des noms qui entraînent les foules comme le mirage entraîne les troupeaux, comme le lambeau de pourpre attire les animaux privés de raison.

“ Je le sais, je le redoute plus que personne, car aucun citoyen n'a mis peut-être plus de son âme, de sa vie, de sa sueur, de sa responsabilité et de sa mémoire dans le succès de la République.

“ Si elle se fonde, j'ai gagné ma partie humaine contre la destinée ! si elle échoue, ou dans l'anarchie ou dans une réminiscence de despotisme, mon nom, ma responsabilité, ma mémoire échouent avec elle et sont à jamais répudiés par mes contemporains !

“ Eh bien, malgré cette redoutable responsabilité personnelle dans les dangers que peuvent courir nos institutions problématiques, bien que les dangers de la République, bien que ses dangers soient mes dangers, et leur perte mon ostracisme et mon deuil éternel, si j'y survivais, je n'hésite pas à me prononcer en faveur de ce qui vous semble le plus dangereux, l'élection du Président par le peuple.

“ Oui, quand même le peuple choisirait celui que ma prévoyance mal éclairée, peut-être, redouterait de lui voir choisir, n'importe : *Alea jacta est !* Que Dieu et le peuple prononcent. Il faut laisser quelque chose à la Providence ; elle est la lumière de ceux qui, comme nous, ne peuvent pas lire dans les ténèbres de l'avenir.

“ Invoquons-la, prions-la d'éclairer le peuple, et soumettons-nous à son décret. Peut-être périrons-nous à l'œuvre. Nous ? Non, non, en effet, et il serait même beau d'y périr en initiant son pays à la liberté.

“ Eh bien, si le peuple se trompe, s'il se laisse aveugler par un éblouissement de sa propre gloire passée, s'il se retire de sa propre souveraineté après le premier pas, comme effrayé de la grandeur de l'édifice que nous lui avons ouvert dans sa République et des difficultés de ses institutions ; s'il veut abdiquer sa sûreté, sa dignité, sa liberté entre les mains d'une réminiscence d'empire ; s'il dit : ramenez-moi aux carrières de la vieille monarchie ; s'il nous désavoue et se désavoue lui-même. Eh bien, tant pis pour le peuple ! ce ne sera pas nous, ce sera lui qui aura manqué de persévérance et de courage.

“ Je le répète, nous pourrions périr à l'œuvre par sa faute, nous, mais la perte de la République ne nous sera pas imputée ! Oui, quelque chose qui arrive, il sera beau dans l'histoire d'avoir tenté la République,—la République, telle que nous l'avons proclamée, conçue, ébauchée quatre mois, la République d'enthousiasme, de modération, de fraternité, de paix, de protection à la société, à la propriété, à la religion, à la famille, la République de Washington.

“ Ce sera un rêve, si vous voulez ! mais elle aura été un beau rêve pour la France et le genre humain !

Mais ce rêve, ne l'oublions pas, il a été l'acte du peuple de Février pendant ses premiers mois. Nous le retrouverons.

“ Mais enfin, si ce peuple s'abandonne lui-même, s'il venait de se jouer avec le fruit de son propre sang, répandu si généreusement pour la République en Février et en Juin ; s'il disait ce mot fatal, s'il voulait désertier la cause gagnée de la liberté et des progrès de l'esprit humain pour courir après je ne sais quel météore qui brûlerait ses mains ! Qu'il le dise !

“ Mais nous, citoyens, ne le disons pas du moins d'avance pour lui !

“ Si ce malheur arrive. Disons-nous au contraire le mot des vaincus de Pharsale : ‘ *victrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni* !’

“ Et que cette protestation contre l'erreur ou la faiblesse de ce peuple soit son accusation devant lui-même, et soit notre absolution à nous devant la postérité.”

Oct. 9.

The question upon which the decision of the Government is to be taken is postponed until to-morrow. I understand the proposal made last month has been repeated to General Cavaignac by the reunion of the Rue de Poitiers, which in this instance represents the majority of the Assembly.

The proposal is to the effect that they should assure him the Presidency until the organic laws shall have been voted, which would adjourn the election by the country for about a twelvemonth. They attach no express condition as to his choice of ministers; but of course it is expected that he will not long confine his selection to that clique which, with one or two exceptions, is at once incapable and unpopular. He has again declined this offer, or to continue, on any terms, in office beyond the vote which follows the passing of the constitution; but I have little doubt, as he has agreed to postpone declaring himself till to-morrow, he will be persuaded, by those of his *entourage* who have any chance of remaining in power with him, to acquiesce in this offer.

The incident of the sitting was an amendment to exclude, as candidates, the members of any family which has reigned in France: as the Bourbons are already prevented from appearing in the country, this was personally directed against Louis Napoleon. On this point it was opposed by the Commission, but every one who spoke in his favour was rudely interrupted by the Mountain, who are now his most violent opponents. He mounted the tribune to say a few words, becoming in themselves, but perhaps too modest for his position. He found no indulgence in that part of the Assembly. M. Antony Thouret, whose own style

of oratory hardly qualified him for a critic, somewhat brutally said that, after what they had seen, he withdrew his amendment as unnecessary.

An amendment similar to the one thus impertinently withdrawn was rejected by a large majority.

CHAP. XIX.

LOUIS NAPOLEON IN THE ASSEMBLY. — M. THOURET'S DISCOURTEOUS REMARK UPON HIS ADDRESS. — THE GOVERNMENT DETERMINE TO PROCEED TO THE ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT. — ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE M. BASTIDE. — MINISTERIAL CHANGES. — SPECIAL COMMISSION ON THE CONTINUANCE OF THE STATE OF SIEGE. — LETTER OF PREFECT DUCOUX. — CAVAIGNAC'S HONESTY OF PURPOSE. — THE COUNTRY ANTI-REPUBLICAN. — TERMINATION OF THE STATE OF SIEGE VOTED BY THE ASSEMBLY. — DISCUSSION ON THE "REMPLACEMENT MILITAIRE." — M. THIERS' EULOGIUM ON THE ENGLISH ARMY. — WEAKNESS OF CAVAIGNAC'S GOVERNMENT. — INCREASE OF SECRET SOCIETIES. — DECREE FOR RESTORING THE PROPERTY OF THE ORLEANS FAMILY. — TUMULT IN THE ASSEMBLY. — PERSONAL ATTACKS ON LOUIS NAPOLEON. — THE CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY. — POSITION OF THE MODERATE PARTY. — LOUIS NAPOLEON THE COMING MAN. — HIS PROBABLE COURSE. — CAVAIGNAC'S DEFEAT ASSURED. — MOTION FOR EXCLUSION OF BONAPARTE FAMILY RENEWED. — THE CONSTITUTION VOTED. — MOVEMENT IN THE PROVINCES IN FAVOUR OF NAPOLEON.

Oct. 10.

I STATED my own impression, last night, upon my return from the Assembly, as to the brutal, or, as we should say, ungentlemanlike treatment which Louis Napoleon had received from a portion of the Assembly. His words were few, and are thus given in the "Moniteur":—

"Citoyens Représentants. — Je ne viens pas ici pour parler contre l'amendement; certainement j'ai été assez récompensé en retrouvant tout à coup mes

droits de citoyen, pour n'avoir maintenant aucune autre ambition. Je ne viens pas non plus réclamer, pour ma conscience, contre les calomnies et le nom de Prétendant qu'on me donne ; mais c'est au nom des trois cents mille électeurs qui m'ont nommé par trois fois que je viens réclamer et que je désavoue complètement ce nom de Prétendant qu'on me jette toujours à la tête."

Le Citoyen Antony Thouret.—“Citoyens Représentants,—En présence des très courtes paroles que vous venez d'entendre, je comprends l'inutilité de mon amendement, et je le retire.”

It was evident from the emphasis which the citizen placed upon the words "très courtes paroles," that he thought the speaker had intended to say more, and, in parliamentary language, had broken down ; but that was not my own impression : it appeared that, as has been the case with many a neophyte unused to address large public assemblies, he had persuaded himself that it was necessary to take the plunge, and to say something, and was glad to get out of the tribune as soon as possible. But whatever defects the refined taste of Citizen Thouret might find in the expressions, Louis Napoleon certainly showed the possession of some qualities which may be of more general application, — I mean the self-possession and *sang froid* with which he bore this ungenerous usage. He *appeared* neither irritated nor disconcerted.

I have this morning been informed by M. Bastide that the Government persist in their determination not to agree to any arrangement for establishing a protracted Provisional Executive, but that the election for the President is to be fixed for a month after the vote of the Constitution, which would bring it to about two months from this time.

In the interim, it has been determined by General Cavaignac, that security shall be given to the prevailing opinion in the country by the adoption of measures of a conservative character, by the firm repression of any anarchical attempts, and by the gradual introduction into the Government of men whose past career will be the best pledge to the nation that such a course will be consistently adopted. I am happy to be able to record that this decision has at length been taken: for whilst it secures, at a critical moment, the continuance of that course of foreign policy in which there has been so little to find fault since the advent to power of General Cavaignac, it renders still possible the election of the General to the Presidency at the epoch now fixed.

Oct. 11.

I am going down this evening to Chantilly, where I left Lady N., on Monday far from well. But

I have first been down to the Assembly. The incident there was an attack that had just been made upon Bastide, in the "Salle des pas perdus," by a man who had often threatened his life. It appears that the scoundrel had been appointed a consul by Lamartine, and Bastide, finding him quite unfit for such a place, had transferred him to Naples as office-keeper; but his conduct there, too, was so disreputable that he was obliged to recall him, and ever since he has been threatening to assassinate him. Bastide told me the story himself.

I am afraid there is some difficulty about the partial change of ministry. Cavaignac seemed very much harassed and perplexed last night, and complained much of the many changes he had seen in public feeling during the last two or three days. Bastide said, this afternoon, that it might end in their all going out together. Nothing whatever has occurred to justify such a determination; but, I take it, when they came to select victims, it was not quite so easy. Those who had been surprised to find themselves in office were more surprised still to find themselves nearly out. Cavaignac is a kind-hearted man, and has a military sense of the duty of standing by his comrades. I shall abstain from taking any part in the affair, and am not sorry — unless required for anything particular — to be out of the way in the country to-morrow. It is not a point upon which I would ever volunteer an opinion, although, when asked, I should give

what I thought the best advice ; but if, from weakness of character, Cavaignac does not persevere, and falls in consequence, it would not, of course, be right for any one to volunteer further interference.

Oct. 13.

After many different combinations had been tried and failed, the new ministerial arrangement, though not announced in the Assembly to-day, is understood to have been definitively settled.

M. Dufaure to succeed M. Sénard, as Minister of the Interior ; M. Vivien to replace M. Recurt, as Minister of Public Works ; and M. Flandrin, M. Vaulabelle as Minister of Public Instruction ; M. Bastide remains at the Foreign Office, and M. de Beaumont retains his post at London. I have just returned from the Assembly, where there were various reasons given for the non-announcement of this arrangement from the tribune. The true version was, that it had been ascertained the Mountain meant to have received the names with ironical cries of "Vive le Roi !" and it was thought better to avoid this salutation.

Oct. 13.

General Cavaignac has this day moved the Assembly to appoint a special commission to confer with the Government upon the question of the continuance of the state of siege. The "*Gauche*" opposed this motion, desiring the Government to explain their motives openly before the Assembly ; but the appointment of the commission was carried by a large majority.

It was considered certain that the Government only desired this reference to obtain a sanction for the necessary continuance of the state of siege, but I have heard, this morning, different speculations on the subject. The one now believed is, that they had only desired to retain it, on account of the arbitrary powers of suppression of journals which it conferred ; and that as the necessity for the continuance of that power was yesterday only voted by a majority of 5 (339 to 334), the Government feel they cannot freely exercise it, and that, therefore, the out-going ministers would not like to leave the credit of the step to their successors.

Oct. 14.

Cavaignac has again shown much vacillation since yesterday, when it was thought all was settled ; but he has put a firm front upon it in the

Assembly, and further explanations are to take place on Monday, when he says that he will require a distinct vote from the Chamber, to show that the new combination has their support. He will have a majority, but believes not a large one. In the Bureaux, the commissioners have been appointed in favour of the ministry, in a proportion of eight to seven, or nine to six, according as one doubtful man votes. It is said that the Government are prepared, if the Assembly wishes it, to raise the state of siege, though, two days ago, a minister still in office told me it was as yet impossible ; but these contradictions are too common to excite any astonishment.

I am going down this evening to Chantilly, as I left Lady N. there yesterday morning, too unwell to come up yet.

Chantilly, Oct. 15.

I came down yesterday by the railroad with Thiers, who was going on a visit to a house in this neighbourhood. As there was nobody in the carriage with us but his family, I had an opportunity of talking with him, which I have not had for some time — a privation I always regret, for I delight in his society. He expressed himself with perfect unreserve. These last changes have produced more in indirect relations between him and

the Government. He is afraid they will be hardly strong enough to go on long, but he and his friends will give them all the support they can, being very anxious not to be forced, at present, to take a more active part themselves. He is much pleased that Bastide should remain at the Foreign Office, approves thoroughly of his policy, and thinks it a great advantage that he is *not* an orator: in the small discussions which can be evaded, this is a safeguard.

He said this Government would have a majority, though not a large one in the country, from its favourable contrast to the last. He says such has been the effect of the misdeeds and troubles of the last few months, that he himself is now to the *left* of the prevailing feeling of the country. He considers the difficulty of their position (meaning that of himself and his friends) much increased by the fact that the country is decidedly anti-republican. If this was not the case, they would endeavour to make it work well and adopt it heartily. In that case, they could easily get possession of the presidency; but he does not see the use of seizing that which would crumble to pieces in their hands in a few months. In the meantime, such is the power that centralisation has given to Paris, that a daring minority may possibly, any day, for the time, give a new aspect to affairs, and lay the foundation of civil war; still, upon the whole, he is inclined to hope they have now weathered the worst.

Oct. 16.

I have just returned to Paris from Chantilly with Lady N., who is still very far from well.

I had a long conversation with Odilon Barrot, who came down to Chantilly yesterday. He says, the position of those who have accepted the Republic, and yet have lost all expectation of its duration, is very difficult. They can now do no otherwise than allow it to work itself out—not adopting it as their own, and yet taking care it does not get into hands to do irreparable mischief. He considers Dufaure as having made a great personal sacrifice in taking office. Barrot said, he felt there had as yet been but one moment when the Revolution could have been resisted openly; that was the 24th of February, and he had then thought of retiring to some country town, and endeavouring to raise the standard of constitutional monarchy; but he was deterred from it by distrust of his countrymen, cowed as they had long been by habits of centralisation. As to the majority in this Assembly, he thinks it will much depend upon the questions that arise. He considers it very unfortunate that one of the first which may come on under the present Cabinet is that of the Civil List of Louis-Philippe and the property of his family; under the *late* Government it would have been only an act of justice, but now it will be considered as a portion of the dynastic reaction.

The next few days may be intensely interesting. The *Mountain* are furious. The letter of the late Prefect Ducoux is full of mischief. I heard, three weeks ago, from good authority, that he was betraying the Government to the *Rouges*, and I told Bastide; but they could not then get rid of him.

“ Au Président du Conseil des Ministres.

“ Citoyen Président,

“ Vous venez de constituer un Ministère qui est à mes yeux la personnification de la contre-révolution. La République va être dirigée, après huit mois d'existence, par des hommes qui ont de tout temps employé leur intelligence et leurs efforts à l'empêcher de naître. Cette politique est habile, peut-être; mais je ne la comprends pas, et je l'approuve encore moins.

“ En présence des dangers qui menacent la liberté en France, lorsqu'elle triomphe en Allemagne, je vais reprendre ma place parmi les adversaires de la royauté, que je combatterai sous tous ses déguisements. Tous les soldats de la démocratie doivent être à leur poste, et le mien n'est plus où cessent mes sympathies politiques.

“ Le représentant du peuple, préfet de police,
“ Ducoux.”

Oct. 16.

I have just returned from the Assembly, after hearing a very interesting discussion, in which M. Dufaure has much distinguished himself: the secret service money, which was placed as a vote of confidence, was carried by the large majority 570 to 155. About eighty members, mostly of the "Réunion de l'Institut," were stated by M. Duclerc to abstain from voting, as not liking to turn out the Government, but not choosing to give it their confidence.

The attacks made by Ledru-Rollin, as well as by MM. Landrin and Portalis, against General Cavaignac, were of the most violent and personal description. M. Sénard, the retiring Minister, delivered with effect the statement of an honest and an amiable man, as to the causes of his resignation.

Oct. 18.

Since I simply recorded the result of the discussion on the vote of confidence, in conversations which I have had with General Cavaignac, he has expressed himself quite satisfied with the justice of the advice which had been given him to act as he has done. The sacrifice of many personal relations no doubt, at the time, cost him much; and to the

influence of such feelings may be attributed much of the vacillation he showed in the progress of the affair, and the embarrassment in the tribune which rendered his explanation of its causes contradictory and incomprehensible; but there is such a general reliance in his thorough honesty of purpose, that the unfavourable impression this produced will be, I hope, but temporary; and though no one could presume to calculate what may be the result of an election by universal suffrage six weeks hence, yet his chance has no doubt been improved by the connexions he has lately formed. My impression upon leaving him was, that he had been braced up again by the unscrupulous attacks of some of the people he did not like, though he had been softened before by the remonstrances of some of his *entourage*. However, he quite admitted, when I called his attention to the obvious fact, that all whom he had lost of the *Républicains de la veille* had, by the very conduct of the attack, shown their incapacity, and the impossibility there was of their having been of any service to him in the conduct of affairs.

Molé has not been well for the last few days, but was out of bed yesterday, and I had a long conversation with him upon the present aspect of affairs. There are four men in France at this moment, who, if they can only agree as to the detailed execution of their common objects, will before long be able to do what they like with the country. These men are Molé, Thiers, Odilon Barrot, and Berryer.

The first has, from the high opinion entertained of his statesmanlike sagacity, much more influence throughout the country than I should have thought possible, considering how little he has, of late years, been before the public eye. I asked him whether he thought the recent change was likely to tend to reconcile France to the Republic. He said that the aversion excited had gone too far for that, and this would only be hailed as holding out a better chance of getting rid of it. The question which at this moment occupies the speculations of all parties is the *election* of the President. The choice of a candidate must depend much upon its *date*. If it could be coeval with that of the new Assembly, as it is pretty certain *that* will be reactionary and monarchical, then the person put forward as President should be some one ready at once to sacrifice his position to the feeling of the new Assembly; but as, by a vote, this Assembly has determined to prolong its existence until after passing some unknown laws which they call organic, it would be awkward to have a mere loyal *locum tenens* for some months in contact with the first Assembly, the offspring of the Revolution, I think the best plan of these four leaders would, on every account, be to support Cavaignac, *if he has a chance*. It would be only fair towards him, after his recent conduct, and would avoid that dispute amongst themselves as to the man, which I foresee may otherwise mar their future common action. But it may become evident, before

the day of election, that the country is so anti-republican that Cavaignac, as identified with those opinions, has not the slightest chance, even with all the influence of the Government ; then it may be necessary to have some one who would unite a sufficient number of votes to enable the Assembly to choose him, if no one has the absolute majority. At this moment, I believe that Molé would have the best chance of being that man ; but he thinks that, for the crisis which follows, it ought to be a General, and he himself leans to Bugeaud. His name would certainly have most influence with the army, but he is a violent and often an indiscreet man. I think the idea of all four leaders (even Odilon Barrot) is, that the most probable result, and one they would readily accept, would be the restoration of the Duc de Bordeaux, though it is not a *plan* with any except Bugeaud, and of course Berryer. As a politician Bugeaud has not at present any position except what the other four may choose to give him.

There have been reports of insurrections each of these last days, but both Cavaignac and Lamoricière assure me that there is no truth in them, and that they do not anticipate any disturbance.

Oct. 20.

M. Bastide told me, this morning, that it had been settled by the Government to propose to the

Assembly that there should be an adjournment of a month, from the 15th of November to the 13th of December, and that the election of the President should be fixed for the 5th of December.

Another instance of "*l'imprévu*," — that which every well-wisher to social order was ten days ago determined to resist,—has just passed as a matter of course. Immediately after the reading of the report from the Commission appointed to consider the propriety of maintaining the state of siege, the Assembly passed, in silence, an unanimous vote for its termination. The state of siege has been long nominally maintained without usage, and had therefore lost its moral effect ; it is now raised, without reason, at the very moment when there is more anxiety in the public mind as to possible disturbances than has prevailed for two months. But as I remarked last week, I had heard by some it was thought no longer possible to maintain its exercise for the only purpose to which it has latterly been applied—the suppression of newspapers : this stretch of power has been tolerated from a feeling of necessity, but was thought by many of the best friends of public order not to have been regularly within the attributes thus conferred.

The important point, though, is that the immense garrison still remains, and with it the determination to use, with prompt vigour, the irresistible means of repression, should the necessity arise.

Oct. 22.

The discussion yesterday, on the question of the *remplacement militaire*, was interesting, not only in its immediate results, but with reference to the incidental influence it was calculated to have upon the political reputation of some of the parties concerned. It was easily to be foreseen that M. Thiers would be peculiarly fortunate in dealing with a subject to the full consideration of which all his historical studies had tended, and which lent itself most readily to that facile redundancy in which he is always so superior. When he advocated a cause which enabled him, at the same time, to maintain his principles, and to meet the universal sympathies of the country, it was natural to suppose that such an occasion, in his hands, would be so used as to increase his popularity. On the other hand, no one was prepared for the tone and language of General Lamoricière upon this subject. As a Minister of War, he is known to have made the most energetic propositions for the suppression of any fresh revolt, and to have relied implicitly upon the passive obedience of the troops ; as a politician, he is also known to have taken an active part in the introduction into the Government of members of the moderate party ; yet, in annoyance at the opposition his plan received from that quarter of the Assembly, he threw himself at once on the sympathies of the Mountain. It was painful to hear a person who

had been the last Minister of War of Louis-Philippe, and who might have something with which to reproach himself in the omissions of those eventful hours, speak of the hesitation of the troops as justified by the system they were then called on to defend. I have little doubt that, in General Lamoricière's cooler moments, one of his least agreeable reflections will be that he had so expressed himself as to elicit the warm applause of the anarchical portion of the Assembly. His unnatural violence on this subject is more inexcusable, as I happen to know that his opinion is not against the power of serving by substitute, but merely that he wished that that substitute should be chosen by the military authority; the person declining to serve paying a fine to the Government.

General Lebreton, irritated by the language of the Minister of War, having made a coarse and undeserved attack upon the military career of General Lamoricière, afforded to General Cavaignac one of those rare occasions when the ready impulse of a generous spirit is able to concentrate on itself the admiration of all. The language used had no extraordinary merit, and the act in itself was natural; but if the most finished orator, and most accomplished man of the world, had endeavoured to change a word, or to alter a gesture, he would only have injured the effect universally produced by the manly bearing with which he

volunteered a modest self-depreciation in graceful defence of his friend.

It is perhaps an incident worth mentioning, as showing the altered feeling towards England, entertained now by almost all parties in France, that when M. Thiers alluded, in detail, to the composition of the English army, and added, "This is one of the finest armies in the world, and one of the most disagreeable (*des plus fâcheuses*) to meet in the field of battle," there was no murmur of dissent, and most of the members turned good-humouredly round to the diplomatic tribune where I was sitting.

I copy from the "Moniteur" of this morning, those passages in M. Thiers' speech which passed a merited eulogium on the composition and character of the English army.

"En Angleterre, on a, à l'égard des hommes, un très-grand respect de l'individu : et ici, au contraire, nous avons un tel respect de tous, et nous en avons si peu de l'individu, que cela nous conduit insensiblement presque au communisme. En Angleterre, c'est tout le contraire ; on a un respect tel de l'individu que, quelquefois l'État en souffre. On n'oserait pas, dans ce pays, proposer le service tel qu'il est chez nous, même avec le remplacement ; on ne l'a jamais osé. Savez-vous ce qu'on a adopté ? L'armée mercenaire. Elle n'en est pas moins patriote ; elle n'en est pas moins une des plus grandes

armées de l'Europe, une des plus fâcheuses à rencontrer sur un champ de bataille.

“Eh bien, comment est-elle composée ? Par des volontaires qui passent ou qui passaient naguère presque toute leur vie sous les drapeaux. Je crois maintenant qu'on a réduit le service à seize ou dix-huit ans : c'est à peu près cela.

“Il y a un corps d'officiers qui se transmettent leur charge, cela fait une armée de métier, une armée qui n'en est pas moins parfaitement solide, profondément disciplinée, et nous l'avons malheureusement appris. Certes elle n'a pas fait reculer nos braves soldats, mais enfin il y a des jours de malheur dans notre histoire, grâce aux qualités si fortes, si solides de cette armée.

“Eh bien, à côté de ces soldats tous volontaires, car, comme je l'ai dit, la conscription n'existe pas en Angleterre, à côté de ces soldats qui passent toute leur vie valide sous les drapeaux, vous avez le système Prussien, qui appelle tout le monde sans exception, mais qui ne garde les hommes sous les drapeaux qu'un an, dix-huit mois au plus. Le reste du temps se passe dans le *Landwehr*, espèce de garde nationale. Voilà l'autre extrême.

“Quels sont les inconvénients que l'expérience a démontrés dans ces deux systèmes ? Croyez-vous que celui de l'Angleterre pêche par la qualité militaire, par l'insuffisance de patriotisme, par le défaut de discipline, de vigueur de solidité au feu ? Non pas ; il y a quelques défauts qui tiennent à la nation.

Le soldat anglais a besoin d'être beaucoup nourri, beaucoup plus qu'on ne peut souvent le faire à l'armée. Il a besoin qu'on ne le fasse pas trop marcher. Voilà ses défauts ; mais, sous le rapport des autres qualités militaires, il n'a pas de défaut. J'ai passé ma vie à faire une enquête perpétuelle sur notre glorieux passé, j'ai entendu les militaires de toute l'Europe sur cette question,—il y a ici des militaires qui ont fait nos grandes guerres, et qui pourraient m'interrompre ; je l'ai trouvé d'accord sous le rapport des qualités militaires de l'armée anglaise. Elle ne laisse rien à désirer, rien, rien."

The prolonged discussion on this question of "Remplacement Militaire" has postponed the final vote on the Constitution two days ; but it is still supposed that it will be concluded on Tuesday, and then will arise the question whether the Assembly is to be collectively prorogued for a month, or whether numerous individual *congés* are to be given to different portions of the members at various times during that period, keeping always a majority of the Assembly *en permanence*. This last is supposed to be the plan of the Réunion de la Ruc de Poitiers.

Oct. 23.

I have heard, from the best authority, of a decision taken at the Cabinet Council this morning to ask, at once, for a decree shutting up the clubs and forbidding the banquets. I am happy to be able to record that the advice which has been, from various quarters, given to the heads of Government within the last two or three days has not been without its effect; and that, coupled with the unscrupulous attacks of the disaffected, it has tended to terminate their prolonged indecision of opinion.

The political incidents of the last week have not tended at all to clear the aspect of the future. The good effect which might have been produced by the late change of Government has been much destroyed by General Cavaignac persisting in considering it as an isolated act, not as a means to an end. Instead of giving to it the natural course which was expected, he has appeared anxious principally to show his old friends and associates how unwillingly he took the step. I have already alluded to my fear that those who have heard MM. Dufaure and Vivien in the tribune know the best of their qualities as statesmen, and that they may be found more remarkable for clearness and force in conveying their opinions than for firmness in maintaining them. Their two first appointments dissatisfied expectation. The new Préfet de Po-

lice, M. Gervais, is a great improvement on the last, but it was hoped the new Minister of the Interior would not feel it necessary to seek assistance in that department from a former conspirator; and though not much is known of M. Brissot, the new *Chef de Cabinet* of M. Vivien, it was thought strange that he should be announced as Brissot, "the son of the celebrated conventionalist."

The greatest proof of weakness given by the Government is the continuance of M. Étienne Arago as Director-General of the Post, who voted against the Government upon the question of confidence, and published a letter in the papers, saying that he retained his place upon the advice of their opponents. When General Cavaignac asked me on Saturday to give him my opinion how they were going on, I stated it to him, in confidence, pretty freely, when so invited, particularly on this last point. I had the more right thus to express myself, as I had full conviction, short only of that positive proof which would authorise direct accusation, that the Post Office opens the despatches which pass through their hands; and this not in the name of the Government, but for the information of M. Étienne Arago's political friends. General Cavaignac expressed his determination to take this question up at once with the Minister of the Interior. Upon the subject of the internal administration of the country, he repeated his intention to change some *préfets*, but, I am afraid, not to the

extent necessary to satisfy public opinion in the Departments.

In the meantime the Government are determined not to postpone the period for the election of the President, and to oppose themselves to the proposition of some of the moderate party that the law of election, and one or two other indispensable laws, should first be voted, and then a President and a new Chamber should be simultaneously elected. General Cavaignac is no doubt in part impelled by the desire as soon as possible to relieve himself from a provisional power which has now lost much of its authority ; but he also contemplates the probability that, should the election soon take place, he will have no serious rival to meet except Louis Napoleon, and trusts that the moderate party may, of the two, prefer him. Should the new President be supported by the fresh election of a reactionary Chamber, he believes he would then be brought in contact with some more direct instrument of a restoration than Louis Napoleon, who by many is put forward for this ultimate purpose.

Much consultation and discussion is at this moment going on between the leaders of different parties and fractions of parties, and I shall probably soon have to announce that some resolutions have been taken likely to indicate the future results of this all-engrossing topic.

It is understood that the Réunion de la Rue de Poitiers and the Institut have come to an under-

standing to resist the proposition of a prorogation, and to insist that at least six hundred members shall remain *en permanence* till the election of the President.


To this decision they have been, amongst other reasons, induced to come, by the certainty that the secret societies are at this moment working very hard, and that they are increasing in number and perfect in organisation.

Oct. 24. 6 P.M.

The Commission of the Constitution have just presented a project of a decree proclaiming that the election of the President is to take place on the 10th of December, and the Assembly have fixed Thursday next for the discussion of the question.

Oct. 26.

I am happy to say that the decrec restoring to the Orleans family the possession of their personalities and the enjoyment of their incomes, subject to an arrangement for the liquidation of various



debts, to which their Royal Highnesses had given their assent, was yesterday passed by the National Assembly almost without discussion and with hardly a dissentient voice.

I had heard, as I before stated, from what I knew to be good authority, that the Government had come to the determination of proposing to the Assembly a decree for shutting up the clubs and prohibiting the banquets. This intelligence was confidentially communicated to me by M. Bastide from General Cavaignac. It appeared the measure had been urged upon the Government by M. Gervais, the new Préfet de Police, as of pressing importance. I was therefore surprised when two days passed without any further steps being taken. The night before last M. Gervais was again, in my presence, urging it upon General Cavaignac, and a Cabinet was held yesterday morning on the subject. It has since appeared that M. Dufaure, in spite of the representations of M. Gervais, advocated the postponement for the present of these measures, and the Cabinet by a majority decided in this sense. It might appear singular that this act of rigour should have been proposed by a Préfet de Police, whose appointment excited distrust from his previous career, and should have been resisted by the Minister whose advent the Republicans opposed as reactionary; but I have before had occasion to remark that the apparent defect of M. Dufaure's character is that he always hesitates at the last

moment before taking a decisive step. He may have reasons with which we are not acquainted for this temporary postponement, but with the near approach of the Presidential elections he has certainly lost thereby some precious moments in rallying round the Government of General Cavaignac the friends of order, who are still in uncertainty as to their future course and desire to have some pledge that the General has entirely broken with the revolutionary party. The new appointments caused by the resignation of M. Goudchaux are in themselves inoffensive, but are not calculated to inspire confidence in the impartial selection of the most efficient men for important offices.

A scene of most disgraceful tumult yesterday took place in the National Assembly, caused by an altercation between different members of the Bonaparte family and M. Clément Thomas. The latter having made some unwarrantable personal attacks upon Louis Napoleon, who was not present, a personal dispute commenced between him and the two cousins, in which a considerable portion of the Assembly soon participated. M. Dufaure, after replying with that tact which always distinguishes him in the tribune, to some questions as to the banquets, had also noticed with successful irony a sort of semi-proclamation which had appeared in the papers from Louis Napoleon. His cousin Napoleon had taken the responsibility of the step upon himself, when M. Clément Thomas, who always

volunteers the part of bully to his political friends, gave to the whole affair a character of persecution, in which the Assembly were at first but too ready to join, but of which his extreme violence made them at last ashamed.

The scene of yesterday will give peculiar interest to the decision which the Assembly may take to-day as to the period of the election.

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6 P. M.

The Assembly has just decided upon one of the articles of the decree, fixing the time of election, and that there should be no delay beyond the 10th of December.

The numbers were, against adjournment, 587 ; for it, 232.

The minority was variously composed ; a small portion of the moderate party, amongst whom was Count Molé, who thought that the President and the new Chamber should be elected at the same time ; with them were joined all the Mountain, dreading an appeal to the country, and thus showing again that there is no oligarchy so absolute and intolerant as that produced by Universal Suffrage when it has lost its popularity. The understanding that a contrary vote would lead to the retirement of General Cavaignac no doubt influenced the majority, which had been very fluctuating during the last four-and-twenty hours.

Oct. 29.

Everything that has occurred within the last week has tended to render more improbable the prospect of any other real candidate for the Presidency than these two, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and General Cavaignac.

The same circumstances have increased the chances of the former, and have much diminished those of the General. I very much regret, from personal regard for him, to have to believe in such a result, and should do so the more, did this not arise in no small degree from faults of his own, which would in themselves diminish the prospects of a satisfactory government as the consequence of his success. In my opinion, the greatest blow to his popularity in the country was one inflicted by himself yesterday, in a speech he most unnecessarily volunteered, in which he declared that he desired to preserve, as long as possible, the present Assembly; and with this view, he was pleased to have found so good a reason for it as the enactment by them of the Organic Laws. The people are already indignant that a body elected by them for a special object should, after that was fulfilled, have usurped the power of prolonging their own existence for the purpose of assuming a task of so indefinite and elastic a nature as the enactment of organic laws. They feel that the law of election is the only one they had any right to arrogate to themselves. When General

Cavaignac therefore says that he was glad to find so good a reason, it will be construed that he was too ready to find any excuse for continuing his relations with a body in whose behalf, and obviously for his own advantage, he had already endeavoured to appropriate those suffrages which the Constitution had left to the people. It was peculiarly imprudent to make such a declaration at a moment when circumstances forced him again to conciliate these same suffrages. For a new Assembly would be elected by the same body as the last was, and as the President now will be. Some who have been tried and are found wanting would, no doubt, appear no more; but those who would again be returned would come with redoubled authority; and therefore there was no other way of explaining his partiality, than that he preferred the produce of revolutionary pressure of bulletins and local directors to the opinion of the country, now to be more fairly and deliberately expressed. There are also but too many symptoms that he is, up to a certain point, prepared to make common cause with the exclusive pretensions of that desperate oligarchy to which the ultra-Republicans are now reduced. The efforts which have been made within the last two days by this party, indirectly encouraged by the Government, to cripple the exercise of their own creation, Universal Suffrage, appear almost incredible.

The election having been fixed at the period of

the year most difficult for the country voters in many departments to come a distance, a whole day was lost in opposing the extension of polling-places, where the *Conseils Généraux*, itself the recent product of Universal Suffrage, should consider such facilities necessary. At length, amidst much confusion, an arbitrary limitation to four divisions alone was imposed upon the discretion of the *Conseils Généraux*; and it will hardly be believed that, not satisfied with this, the "Moniteur" yesterday endeavoured to prescribe that the initiative of any division facilitating Universal Suffrage should be taken away from the popular local representative body and conferred upon the Préfet, the officer of the Government, who held his post at the pleasure of one of the candidates. Many other circumstances have, within the last few days, tended to dispel any lingering confidence in General Cavaignac felt by the moderate party.

The resignation of the Minister of Finance led to the appointment of a notoriously inefficient public officer, with no special knowledge of that all-important subject at this critical moment. M. Trouvé Chauvel was at the same time succeeded as Préfet de la Seine by M. Recurt, a nullity in himself, but who had been the tool of the Provisional Government and Executive Council, and, as Minister of the Interior under the last, had filled the Departments with companions worthy of M. Ledru-Rollin's Commissioners. The object of these ap-

pointments was avowed to me by General Lamoricière in conversation. As he had boasted to me that the previous modification of General Cavaignac's cabinet had been his doing, I expressed my regret to him that he had not continued his good work upon this occasion ; he stated candidly that it was necessary now to give some satisfaction to the strong Republican party represented by the reunion of the Palais National, as they hoped to have about two hundred active representatives from that party, who would, in consequence, scour the departments and agitate in favour of the claims of General Cavaignac. The declaration of the General that he would not prolong his own provisional tenure of office, which indeed tended to obtain the majority in favour of immediate election, seemed to most men disinterested, but he may have been actuated in part by a fear lest the result of any delay would be to induce other intrigues and to produce fresh candidates. The justice of the view taken by Count Molé, that it would be desirable to postpone the election until the new Assembly could also be chosen, has been shown by the complications into which the Assembly has been drawn by the attempt to prolong their own character of a Constituent Assembly after the election of a permanent President. But I take it that Count Molé's was precisely one of those "*candidatures*" which Cavaignac feared a little more time might have matured, and therefore I should have wished that

M. Molé's first *début* in this Assembly had been on some other subject.

One cannot but feel that the position of the moderate and anti-republican party is at this moment most difficult. Many of them have within the last few days spoken to me of their embarrassments, and it is almost impossible to select any course which presents other than a choice of dangers. One must start with the conviction, which nothing short of some unforeseen and extraordinary turn of events can shake, that Louis Napoleon will be returned by a large majority of votes. The sort of persecution to which he has been subjected by the successive governments of the Republic since February has diffused an idea that his success is identified with the overthrow of that of which the mass of the people have become so weary ; and this, even more than the prestige of his name, has procured him support in many quarters where no personal sympathy can be felt. It is too late, however, for the moderate party to succeed in uniting the anti-republican feeling of the country in favour of any candidate they might now put forward ; the more so as the actual representatives of the monarchical idea in the persons of the pretenders could not be presented to the electors. If they chose any one else, not in this category, they would find the additional difficulties of individual jealousies. They seem to be almost all convinced that the result of a third candidate could only be, possibly, so far to

diminish the numbers of Louis Napoleon as to deprive him of the absolute majority, and therefore to leave the selection to the Assembly, who would now inevitably choose Cavaignac, having first made their own bargain with him as to the prolongation of their existence; as under these circumstances he could only have a bare majority even in this Chamber. The leaders of the various parties believe that a system of revolutionary intimidation must be the accompaniment and support of such a government, and they have begun seriously to reflect whether the election of Louis Napoleon would not be the minor evil of the two. It may still be in General Cavaignac's power to moderate the alienation which his proceedings during the last few days have caused amongst those most anxious to find reason to support him, and those who wish him well should take every opportunity of urging him to do so.

In the meantime we must not lose sight that the great probability is that within two months the affairs of this country will be in the hands of Louis Napoleon. And therefore every step taken by himself and his advisers becomes of first-rate importance. Under the advice of his uncle, he has broken completely and irreparably with the Mountain. He has also made distinct advances to the moderate party. He is in personal rather than political communication with M. Odilon Barrot. He has proposed to M. Thiers to name him as his minister, or to appoint

him Vice-President ; but these offers have been for the present declined, and there is, I believe, no existing understanding between him and M. Thiers.

In the meantime he is beset by busy intriguers, who are very anxious to keep him in their own hands. It is at this price he has procured the support of that most able but versatile journal "La Presse." Should his nomination find him separated both from the Republicans and the moderate party, we must expect awful scenes of confusion just at that period when the misery of the people will be at its height. Should he place himself frankly, at the proper moment, in the hands of the persons most capable to govern the country, one will then only have to admire this singular result of a Republic, that the choice of a great people for their chief magistrate should depend upon a name, and fall upon an individual whose personal qualities can be so little known by those who are to exercise their choice in his favour ; as it is indeed to the reflected glory of his great predecessor that he owes his principal claim to popular support.

The "candidature" of M. Ledru-Rollin and M. Lamartine can only weaken the chances of General Cavaignac. It is at present calculated that the first may have 400,000 votes, the latter not quite as many. The best friends of Marshal Bugeaud are using great efforts to dissuade him from the false step he meditates in presenting himself as a candidate.

Nov. 2.

When I remained rather late at Cavaignac's last reception, he took me aside and spoke to me of the prospects of his election. He was evidently harassed and out of spirits, but professed to have no doubt of his success.

As he had mentioned to me before his project of closing the clubs, and had then seemed to regret the decision of M. Dufaure to postpone that measure, I told him that I heard there had been, during the last few nights, the most sanguinary threats used at some of them, and if he wished to confirm the confidence of the friends of order, he had no time to lose in creating a favourable impression throughout the country by vigorous measures against these revolutionary institutions. I found the tone of General Cavaignac much altered on this subject. He asked how he could do so now, when they would meet again in a few days under the name of elective reunions. I could not but perceive he seemed not unwilling to keep in reserve the possible use of such engines, should the turn of the election hereafter require it. This was made more evident when he explained the foundation of his sanguine expectations as to the result; he said that before the day it would no longer be a personal question, but whether the people wished to preserve the

Republic or not. I admitted that I thought such would probably be the question, which all ought to desire should be fairly tried and clearly ascertained. At the same time, I cannot doubt that the most unscrupulous use will be made of those powers which centralisation has put into the hands of Government to influence the result; and should any arrangement be made with Ledru-Rollin's party by the partisans of General Cavaignac, to these powers will be added revolutionary intimidation in the larger towns. One cannot speculate, with so capricious a population, possessing so little moral courage, what effects all these means may produce in the next six weeks—quite an age in the duration of any popular feeling in France; but the general impression is that General Cavaignac's defeat is assured primarily on the grounds on which he rests his hopes, viz., that he is supposed to be specially identified with the Republic.

Nov. 4.

I have just been reading this morning's "Moniteur," containing M. Dufaure's address, as Minister of the Interior, to the Préfets, on the subject of the election.

The paper is rather skilfully drawn up, and with a studious avoidance of the tone of M. Ledru-

Rollin's circulars ; but, nevertheless, when one recollects by whom it is written, in behalf of whom it is sent, and to whom it is addressed, it is an insidious interference with all freedom of election. When the man in authority in each district is told to caution all whom he can influence against "une mauvaise élection," one cannot doubt that that will be understood as a direction to leave no means untried to secure the election of the only other person who has a chance of success ; and, as upon the extent of that chance will, no doubt, much depend the result of their efforts, General Cavaignac was not unwise yesterday in taking an opportunity of speaking of his election with a confidence which, as yet, is peculiar to himself.

Those amongst Frenchmen who are most sanguine as to the possibility of a Republic have felt that the greatest difficulty was the system of centralisation which had become so engrained in the habits of the people. With this view, almost the only provision in the Constitution which showed any political forethought was that which prohibited the President for the time being, or any one of his family, from standing at the next election, yet at the very first trial they are obliged practically to violate this principle, and the man who is to all intents and purposes in the position of an actual President will bring to bear upon this single election all the governmental agency with which M. Duchâtel procured the corrupt majority of 1846. But

then M. Duchâtel had this advantage, that, whatever the result of these elections might be, those whom he attempted to influence, knew that power must remain to him, at least, long enough to fulfil the most urgent of his promises. This is the weak point in the exercise of M. Dufaure's influence ; and if he does not feel this, some more tried republicans feel it for him, and amongst the rest M. Anthony Thouret, who yesterday renewed that motion for the exclusion of all the Bonaparte family from the Presidency, which he had before withdrawn in a moment of triumphant spite, when he preferred insult to injury.

He now made his speech in the absence of its object, and in this certainly he gave reasons which one must imagine would not be without their weight with a severe republican, that a name which had always before been accompanied with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" as at Strasbourg and Boulogne, was not precisely the best calculated to give confidence in the sincerity of cries of "Vive la République!" This proposition was, on this occasion, opposed by General Cavaignac himself, who in a very becoming speech showed that such a proposition was not now a measure of general safety, but would amount to an individual objection. After requesting, in his own name and that of the Government, that the amendment should be rejected, he concluded : —

" Dans toute circonstance, j'ai éprouvé le besoin

de connaître quelle était la pensée, quelle était la volonté du pays ; dans toute circonstance j'ai eu le désir de savoir où il plaçait sa confiance. Eh bien ! ce désir que j'ai toujours éprouvé est devenu aujourd'hui une soif ardente. Oui, j'ai soif de savoir enfin où est la confiance de la nation, et je demande à l'Assemblée de me permettre de la satisfaire ! Je vote pour le rejet de l'amendement."

Molé explained to me, in some detail, why he had determined to give his vote for Louis Napoleon rather than for Cavaignac. He has convinced himself that Cavaignac, both from his own disposition and his influences, would never break entirely with the Socialists ; that, though objecting to their violent mode of helping themselves to the property of others, he has a leaning for their doctrines and much personal sympathy for some of the advocates of them. He considers *that* the great danger of the day, and thinks much mischief would be done if France was left in the power of Cavaignac for the next three years. Louis Napoleon has, at least, broken decidedly with this party. Molé believes, if he will be advised by Barrot and others of that stamp, he would be much the least evil. Molé never had the least idea of standing himself, though much urged so to do, as he felt it would be for him the falsest of positions. Thiers has been wavering very much, but has at last decided to vote for Louis Napoleon. Neither he nor Molé expect the Republic to last many months in his hands, and they think it

would not do to go back at once from a republic to a monarchy without some intermediate state. The almost universal opinion still seems that Bonaparte will be elected; but the interval is all in favour of Cavaignac, with the Government influence which it is evident will be stretched to the utmost in his favour. Garnier-Pagès and others still mean to publish what they consider proofs that he produced those very events in June which it is his principal claim to have subdued. If this should really appear, it will injure him much throughout the country.

Nov. 6.

The final vote upon the Constitution took place in the National Assembly on Saturday afternoon. I think any impartial examination must lead to the conclusion that it is the very worst that ever reached that finishing stage of manufacture.*

With no one original idea, it is so confused in its expressions, and contradictory in its provisions, as to be unintelligible to many of its authors, and undoubtedly impracticable in execution.

It was voted by an enormous majority, a great portion of which dreaded, at this moment, that a

* See Appendix.

contrary vote would be interpreted as against the Republic, and therefore prematurely weaken the efficiency of their opposition to that which they are determined, on the first occasion, to destroy. The false position which the moderate party are obliged to assume in this Assembly must, I should think, destroy their moral weight in the country; and whilst I cannot deny that the decision they took on Saturday was the only prudent one, I cannot withhold my admiration for men like Berryer and Montalembert, who, even when left alone in the company of a few anarchists who think any constitution a superfluity, refused to sanction the adoption of an obviously absurd Constitution as the Government of their country.*

At six o'clock in the evening all Paris was much alarmed by a salute of 105 guns from the Invalides; a sort of nocturnal demonstration hitherto unknown, and as not one in a thousand in Paris had taken the trouble to inquire when the Constitution would be voted, recent recollections gave a different interpretation to the unexpected sound; the population were first very much frightened, and then very indignant at the mistake thus caused. This feeling of course passed away at once; but I am informed that some uneasiness is felt, from the fact

* The Duc de Broglie, who often vents much practical wisdom in quaint phrases seasoned with no small portion of dry humour, said of the new Constitution, "C'est un œuvre qui a reculé les limites de la stupidité humaine."

that, in the Faubourg St. Marceau, at the first sound, groups of ill omen immediately formed round those spots where the last barricades were erected.

Nov. 9.

— came to me the day before yesterday, in great anxiety, saying that all was going to ruin here; that there was only one chance of safety, which was that Cavaignac should at once make terms with the moderate party, and give them satisfactory assurances as to his future government of the country. He added, that I was the only person at all likely to influence him to take that course, and he entreated me therefore to speak to him again on the subject. I told him that I quite agreed with him that the result, if attainable, was the best we could look to, but that I had never yet obtruded my advice upon the General upon any of his internal affairs, unless either specially invited or encouraged by something he had said. Now, as he had distinctly announced, both to me and others, that he considered his success certain as soon as the people understood that his election was synonymous with the maintenance of the Republic, this was certainly not an encouragement to advise him to make friends with those whom his intimate associates (such as Dégousée) had just been de-

nouncing as false to the Republic. I might differ from Cavaignac as to the opinion of the country upon those points, but his information ought to be much better, and after all it was his affair and not mine. — was evidently rather disappointed that I would not stir in the matter. There was a report yesterday that Cavaignac had made some advances to that party, and the funds rose in consequence; but I do not believe it, as Dégousée, whom I met at one of the Minister's last night, told me that forty members of the Réunion de la Rue de Poitiers had followed his example, and quitted the club, because they believed them not to be Republicans. This of course will increase the bitterness on both sides. Molé told me, on the other hand, that Larcy, a Legitimist from the South, who had been much opposed to the Bonaparte "candidature," and who had said a few days ago, that that fancy had made no progress in the South, had been heard since to say that all the peasants had caught the infection, that they believed it was the only way to get rid of the Red Republic, which was the only one they knew of, and unless Cavaignac immediately joined himself frankly with the moderate party, they would all vote for Louis Napoleon. This letter was shown to Dufaure, who said, "We receive such from all quarters; but"—and shrugged his shoulders, as much as to say, "it is too late." This was an additional reason to decline meddling in the matter.

The Préfet de la Seine had sent to invite the Lord Mayor for Sunday's fête. I suppose the chief magistrate of our loyal and Protestant city will hardly come so far to hear mass and see a Republic proclaimed.

CHAP. XX.

REDUCTION OF THE ARMY ANNOUNCED IN THE ASSEMBLY. — ADDRESS FROM GENERAL CAVAIGNAC TO THE CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES. — ELECTIONEERING TACTICS. — THE FÊTE OF THE CONSTITUTION. — INDISPOSITION OF M. BASTIDE. — RÉUNION AT THE EMBASSY. — REASONS FOR THE MODERATE PARTY GIVING THEIR SUPPORT TO LOUIS NAPOLEON. — MM. THIERS, ODILON-BARROT, MARSHAL BUGEAUD, ETC., FAVOUR LOUIS NAPOLEON. — SPLIT BETWEEN THE MOUNTAIN AND THE SOCIALISTS. — VIOLENCE OF THE CLUBS. — REACTION IN FAVOUR OF ENGLAND. — REMARKS ON THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY. — STRICTURES ON THE ASSEMBLY. — CONTEST IN THE ASSEMBLY BETWEEN CAVAIGNAC AND THE MEMBERS OF THE LATE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION. — ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE IN THE ELECTIONS. — QUESTION OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CLUBS. — CAVAIGNAC'S DEFENCE. — STARTLING NEWS FROM ROME.

Nov. 9.

THE Minister of War yesterday announced in the Assembly an immediate reduction of 55,000 men, and grounded it upon the satisfactory nature of the communication made the day before by his colleague the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I saw General Lamoricière in the evening, and he attributed to this announcement the rise in the funds. The knowledge, in certain quarters, that such a measure was about to be taken, may have

increased the number of purchasers, and thereby given an immediate impulse to prices, but the fact of the announcement in the Assembly was not known till much later.

There is no doubt, that this determination to reduce the army during the winter, as well as the diplomatic statement with which it was connected, owed their origin to electioneering purposes. I have no reason to doubt the present intentions of this Government are sincerely pacific; but I know that to others, who may not have the same views, General Cavaignac has, in conversation, declared that France will find herself at war in the spring. This opinion he founds on the force of circumstances, not on the probability of any change in the composition of the Government.

Nov. 11.

I copy, from this morning's "Moniteur," portions of an address from General Cavaignac to the civil and military authorities of the Republic, which is to stand in the place of an electioneering manifesto. The length is in itself an impediment to the impression it would otherwise have made. Of course there were some generalities into which it was impossible not to enter, when the occasion of an official announcement of the completion of a new

Constitution was meant to serve as an indication to all those now acting under the authority of the writer that, as it was in their power, so it will become their duty, to facilitate the continuance of the government of the country in the same hands at the ensuing election. This was a task not to be executed in so many words, but I extract merely those portions which point indirectly to that circumstance.

“Paris, le 10 novembre, 1848.

Extrait d'une Circulaire adressée par le Président du Conseil, chargé du pouvoir exécutif, à tous les fonctionnaires civils et militaires.

“Citoyens,

“L'Assemblée Nationale, par un vote définitif, vient d'achever l'œuvre entreprise et poursuivie par elle avec une si persévérante et si scrupuleuse énergie. La Constitution républicaine est votée, et sa promulgation va porter à la connaissance du peuple le texte de la loi fondamentale qui doit désormais régir ses destinées.

“ Dans une conjoncture si importante, et appelé que vous êtes à concourir, suivant la nature de vos fonctions, à cette mesure solennelle, j'ai voulu, par une exception que la gravité de la circonstance explique, me mettre directement en rapport avec

vous, et vous faire connaître quelles garanties, quelles forces nouvelles la constitution donnera bientôt à votre autorité.

* * * * *

“ La loi politique fondamentale est venue se placer à côté de la loi éternelle d'ordre et de stabilité, qui est la condition nécessaire de toute société humaine. Toutes deux désormais sont inséparables. L'existence de la République est indissolublement liée au maintien du bon ordre politique et social. La République sans le bon ordre, le bon ordre sans la République, sont désormais deux faits également impossibles, et celui qui prétendrait les séparer ou sacrifier l'un à l'autre, est un citoyen dangereux que la raison condamne et que le pays repousse.

“ Attachez-vous à vous pénétrer de ces pensées, à les faire pénétrer dans l'esprit de ceux qui vous secondent ou vous entourent. Fondée sur le grand principe du vote universel, telle qu'elle le définit et le détermine dans son application, la constitution de la République laisse toute liberté à la discussion, elle ôte toute prétexte à l'insurrection, à la révolte ; car le vote, qui n'a pu prévaloir par la règle, de quel droit voudrait-on le faire prévaloir par la violence ? Et d'un autre côté, en présence de cette application incessante du suffrage universel, quelle est l'autorité qui pourrait tenter d'en corrompre l'expression ?

“ Le vote universel, c'est la révolution toute entière ; tous les autres principes ne se présentent plus que comme des conséquences. Au premier rang de

ces conséquences, vous devez placer celle qui consiste à maintenir le pouvoir sous l'action et le respect inviolable de la majorité. Dans l'état nouveau que la constitution va faire à la République, oublier ces principes serait de la part de tous une faute grave, ce serait un crime de la part de celui qui, revêtu d'une autorité quelconque, viendrait ainsi à méconnaître la source et la base mêmes de cette autorité. Le premier résultat, le premier danger d'une telle erreur serait l'anéantissement même du pouvoir dont on aurait renié l'origine et méconnu la signification et la valeur."

The interest of this paper is much diminished by the fact, which is obvious to me, that it is not written by the General himself, and therefore has been arranged for a special purpose. I do not know by whom it has been drawn up, nor indeed have I any proof except what I draw from internal evidence that he is not himself the author; but I do not observe in it certain peculiarities of expression, without which I never knew him deliver his opinions on any public subject. The style is in many parts too artificial for the General's mode of writing. It would have been difficult to have suggested any other document, at this moment, which would have produced a more beneficial effect, and yet it is impossible to deny that it is not likely to satisfy any one. Its faults are those of his position, though that position has on many previous occasions been somewhat aggravated by the defects of his character.

Some of the contradictions are too flagrant not to be seized with effect by his enemies. When he says, "Le vote universel, c'est la Révolution toute entière," every one must recollect that upon this very occasion he distrusted its effect and wished its exercise to be denied. No one will admit the antithesis that order cannot exist without a Republic, and a Republic cannot exist without order; because in their immediate neighbourhood order has long been maintained without any such political institution, and here order has been in constant peril from the very moment when they adopted that form of Government.

On the other hand, it is very possible that the professions of attachment to order and stability made by General Cavaignac, may rather weaken the case of the moderate party against him. There has not been since the appointment of MM. Dufaure and Vivien any overt act on the part of General Cavaignac on which they can rest their hostility to him, which is no doubt founded, with some justice, upon the knowledge of the influences with which he is surrounded. The appointment of M. Récurt as Préfet de la Seine, though blamable, was hardly of sufficient importance in itself to be given as a ground of opposition. The impropriety of this appointment was made more obvious to myself by the collateral question of the invitation lately sent to the Lord Mayor of London, who would have been received as a colleague by a man

who is now publicly known, by extracts from the depositions of that day, to have been indirectly implicated with others in Fieschi's diabolical plot. The fact is that, at this moment, every party in France is in a false position, from the constant contradiction between their professions and intentions, and the result will rather depend upon the balance of errors, than upon the strict adherence to a line of conduct consequent upon moral courage, of which quality there is, I am sorry to say, on all sides, a lamentable deficiency.

Nov. 11.

I hear, upon very good authority, that a Manifest from Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is to appear in a few days, containing very strong expressions of his determination, should he be elected President, to make it one of his first objects to maintain the peace of Europe, and to cultivate the alliance of those powers who, whilst recognising the internal independence of France, have shown a desire to maintain amicable relations with her.

Cavaignac himself has certainly been much more low about the chances of his success within the last day or two. He talks of travelling in the

East, of visiting Turkey, Syria, and even India. At the same time his partisans are straining every nerve in his cause ; and it will be strange enough if a month's unscrupulous use of all the powers of Government does not work some change in his favour. It can only fail from one cause—a general conviction that he will not be elected : this once ascertained, the promises of his agents would, of course, lose their charm, and their threats would inspire no terror. It is said no electioneering trick is spared, such as sending into remote districts, amongst the peasants, cards with false names, such as “Jérôme Bonaparte,” or “Louis Napoléon,” without any surname, so that those votes might be lost. The papers too announced that Bugeaud had resigned in Cavaignac's favour, and it really is directly the reverse, as it is understood he is to be Bonaparte's Minister of War : if he is elected, Odilon-Barrot will, I believe, certainly be his minister ; he is, at least, an honest man, and very *pacific* in his feelings. One speaks of all this as about to happen, since everybody assures one it must be so ; but it seems so extraordinary that one cannot help thinking something must prevent it still. It is very much against Louis Napoleon that a people so changeable as the French should have thought of him full six weeks beforehand.

I hope I have arranged that the Corps Diplomatique are to see the show from the Ministry of

Marine. We have no part to play in the affair, and upon the *estrade*, in such weather, the Republic could not have been warmly welcomed by us.

Nov. 13.

I know not how to describe the Fête of the Constitution yesterday except by negatives ; there was no enthusiasm, no disturbance, and no crowd : it was, in most respects, directly the reverse of the description given of it in the "National," which I have just been reading. It is astonishing that any writer should, in the face of notorious facts, venture on such assertions as that the Proclamation was received by the deafening shouts of 200,000 men. I do not think, at any time, there could have been 3000 spectators, including those in the tribunes. The weather was, however, most unfavourable, which, no doubt, was the cause of the absence of many of the curious.

I am sorry to say that Bastide is very ill to-day. He seemed so anxious that the Corps Diplomatique should appear, as a body, at the ceremony yesterday, that I persuaded them to do so, at the great risk of all our lives, as we were exposed in an open stand to a severe snow-storm. However, we only

remained for the first part of the ceremony; but I conclude he exposed himself more, and he is never strong. He is laid up to-day with a fever and diarrhœa, and has also been spitting blood. At all events, I am afraid it must be many days before he can be fit to attend to any business.

We are going to give a small party to-night, before Lady N.'s journey to England, in order that she may see some of her friends, whom her illness has hitherto prevented her from receiving; but, as it is the first *réunion* anybody (except Ministers) has had since the Revolution, it will be rather curious, as there will be all colours except the *Rouges*. Many are very anxious to see each other *en présence*.

Nov. 14.

There is in the "Presse" of yesterday a report of a very curious conversation between Cavaignac and Véron, the editor of the "Constitutionnel." It is singular that he should have committed himself in such a quarter; but, to any one who knows him, there is great internal evidence of truth in many of the phrases, and his manner is graphically given. His avowal, that the Republic was the work of a "tyrant minority" is not a

worthless admission. The excessive venom with which É. de Girardin attacks him daily rather disposes some people in his favour.

Nov. 15.

Some of the chiefs of the different sections of what is called the moderate party, have taken occasion to explain to me confidentially the reasons which have induced them, not only to withhold their support from General Cavaignac, but to exert themselves to favour the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

It appears that indirect advances had been, in the first instance, attempted by them with a view to an understanding with the General. These terms, stated rather differently by different persons, were somewhat to this effect:—That he should instantly take measures to shut up the Revolutionary Clubs in Paris; that he should undertake to make changes in the Law of Enlistment and of Public Instruction; that he should consent to diminish the number of Organic Laws to be proposed to this Assembly, and thereby give the country an earlier opportunity of pronouncing its opinion upon the conduct of its representatives; and, finally, that he should give them some as-

entirely not as to whom he would, but as to whom he would not propose as Vice-President. This attempt at an arrangement having failed with the General they had to consider to what state the country would be reduced by his unconditional nomination. To resist the impulse of the rural districts towards a name supposed to typify anti-republican tendencies, Cavaignac would be obliged to depend upon the strong republican movements in some of the towns. As there was no chance of his being elected by a majority in the first instance, he would further have to negotiate his selection by the Assembly, through the means of the most violent and least popular portion of it; and he had already shown that he would be ready to do so, by consenting to protract to the utmost possible limit the duration of that body which had already outlived its proper functions. In addition to this, it had been ascertained that Cavaignac was pledged to M. Armand Marrast to propose him to the Assembly as Vice-President, with two other names of no consideration, and therefore to force his nomination upon that body. M. Marrast, unfortunately exercises considerable influence over the mind of Cavaignac, and besides being identified with the continual domination of the clique of the "National," he is personally disliked by many who share his political opinions, but believe him to be the incarnation of the spirit of low intrigue.

The moderate party represent themselves, under

these circumstances, to have had no alternative but to accept as a candidate the person who alone, at this moment, could unite the amount of popular support necessary to give its full effect to the independent exercise of universal suffrage. Such a step, however, they determined to make contingent upon their being able to ensure those conditions from Louis Napoleon which they had failed to obtain from Cavaignac. Many assure me they have been quite satisfied upon this point; and to those who mentioned the matter confidentially to me I urged the peculiar importance, considering the name he bears, that he should offer to Europe guarantees for the preservation of peace. This, I am told, is to be strongly marked in the Manifest which is to appear in a few days. Of course, in these non-official conversations, I made it very clear that, as the representative of a foreign power, one could offer no opinion, one way or the other, on such a question, and could only wish that the national choice might tend to the happiness of the country and to the permanence of those good relations which have happily subsisted between England and France.

Nov. 16.

The chances of the principal candidates do not seem to have much varied since my last notes. It is said that the majority of the moneyed interests in Paris wish well to General Cavaignac, from believing that his success would offer the best prospect of at least postponing a struggle in the streets.

In the meantime deputations are every day coming up from the different departments to M. Molé, M. Thiers, and M. Odilon Barrot, to ask their advice. This, I understand, is uniformly given in favour of M. Louis Bonaparte, upon the ground I have already recorded, that his election is the only chance at the present moment of saving the country from four years' domination of the incapable *coterie* who have more or less monopolised its rule since February.

It is said that this course is also recommended by Marshal Bugeaud, the Duke de Broglie, the Ex-Chancellor Pasquier, and most of the men of eminence under the late reign.

The Legitimist party, as a body, are, on the other hand, very unwilling to adopt the advice of the leaders, or, under any circumstances, to vote for one of the name of Bonaparte. The result, in my opinion, will much depend upon what line

the bulk of this party ultimately adopts. If they make up their minds to vote, *en masse*, for Louis Napoleon, he will probably be returned by an absolute majority; but if this should remain in doubt, as I have before speculated, then, if General Cavaignac could once persuade public opinion that there was any probability of his being elected, I have such a belief in the power of that Government influence which will be vigorously applied, as to think that he might still have a chance.

There has been a great split between the Mountain, as represented by Ledru-Rollin, and the Socialists, headed by Raspail; at some of the violent clubs last night there were repeated cries of "A bas Ledru-Rollin, le réactionnaire!" The violence of the clubs and the turbulence of the crowds collected in the neighbourhood of some of the Faubourgs these last nights lead to a belief with some that disturbances cannot be long delayed; and many observations are made upon the inactivity of the police, and inferences drawn that the Government would not be unwilling that there should be some outbreak between this and the day of election. I believe the fault to have been originally more M. Dufaure's than Général Cavaignac's, that the clubs were not suppressed a month ago, a step which the General assured me he was then ready to take; but, considering the suspicion that still with many attached to his conduct previous to the events in June, he ought to be

peculiarly cautious how he exercises the undivided power he now possesses.

I am sorry to say that every day I feel it more impossible to foresee any satisfactory and peaceable solution to the difficulties of the present crisis.

My part, of course, is only that of an observant spectator, indirectly endeavouring, when fair occasion offers, to diminish excess of evil, and taking care that that which is inevitable interferes as little as possible with international relations. My task in this respect has become so far easier, since I can add, on the authority of some of the oldest inhabitants here, that there exists in the popular feeling of all classes, except *ultra demagogues*, such a reaction in favour of England as they never before remember. Of this I receive daily proofs myself; and into whatsoever hands the Government may fall, its rulers must, at present, be guided by this feeling. Where everything changes so rapidly, it would be too much to speculate on its duration; but, whilst it lasts, it is satisfactory to those engaged in the conduct of international affairs, and cannot but offer the best hope for the peace of the world.

I have seen Bastide since writing the above. I asked him what news they had from the country. He said, rather better from some parts; the chances were against them, but they still had a chance. I asked him what he meant by a chance. He said, only that Bonaparte would not have an

absolute majority ; there was no doubt he would have the relative majority.

Nov. 17.

The moderate members of the Assembly, in my opinion, committed a great mistake in making a party question of the re-election of its President. The moment was ill chosen, for the Assembly had just become thoroughly convinced that its own existence was inseparably dependent upon the maintenance in power of General Cavaignac and M. Armand Marrast. The General was prepared to declare that he should consider the defeat of the latter as a mortal blow to his own influence. Those members, therefore, who were desirous to preserve their political power and their twenty-five francs a day during the next twelvemonth, found a ready pretext for separating themselves from those with whom they had previously acted, in the assertion that it would be a harsh measure to discard a man abruptly from a position to which he had been three times re-elected. The opponents of M. Armand Marrast speculated too much upon his general personal unpopularity: in moments of political struggle, such considerations are forgotten; and the candidate on the other side was not well chosen. M. Léon de

Malleville is known to be, of all the lieutenants of M. Thiers, the least tolerant of a temporary Republic. I therefore, in spite of all I heard, never doubted the re-election of M. Marrast in the regular course. But there are some men whose nature it is to endeavour to make assurance doubly sure by trickery, even when straight-forward success is not in doubt. Thus M. Marrast created a most unfavourable impression amongst bystanders, by forcing on a premature election at the shortest notice through a fictitious resignation. The object of this manœuvre was to retain the votes of those who would have been *en congé* on the regular day. This was evidently a case which his opponents ought to have exposed in debate, by showing that, whilst he ensured the votes of those who were about voluntarily to absent themselves, he forcibly excluded without warning those who would have been ready to return on the day regularly fixed. A protest thus based would have saved the moderate party from a contest in which they were sure to be defeated; but instead, they voted in silence under these disadvantages, and, of course, made but a poor figure.

The Government having obtained this party triumph, its supporters departed in shoals, leaving barely members enough to get through that which might, in the present state of the finances, be considered as the most important business of the session, — the discussion of the largest budget that

the country was ever condemned to bear ; but, leaving their duties to chance, one-third of the Representatives are, at this moment, travelling about the country, spending, in electioneering or other personal devices, the twenty-five francs a day which the President announced, from the chair, to their satisfaction, it would be *unconstitutional* for a member under any circumstances to refuse.

Nothing more forcibly strikes an observer than the number of opportunities that have been lost during the last few months, of exposing from the tribune the most flagrant abuses ; but the fact is the whole struggle seems to consist on all sides in a balance of faults and contradictions. A rapid career of rival errors reminds one of that eccentric provision where the race is to the last, and the advantage must be accorded to that party who shall have won through the fewest mistakes.

This Assembly, if it has the opportunity, will still, by the functions which it has usurped, distinguish itself from any ever before known. Itself the creation of universal suffrage, it would repudiate the authority and abjure respect for the very author of its being : and, while still pretending to embody the popular will, it would establish a Government which never existed in the world before — namely, that of an ascertained and recorded minority. To sum up all its contradictions, it would seek by these means to place at the head of so self-evident an oligarchy, the man whose own

words are still ringing in the ears of the people, — “Le Vote Universel, c’est la Révolution toute entière.”

Nov. 20.

The second portion of the Fête of the Constitution took place yesterday, and passed off without any violent outbreak. The weather was favourable for the illumination and fireworks. The crowd in the Champs Elysées was considerable. I walked there for some time with Lady N——, but there was not the slightest enthusiasm. I did not hear there, nor could I learn that there had been heard in any part of Paris, what would be called a patriotic cry. I saw in the course of the evening two Representatives who, as Secretaries of the Assembly, were present at the great dinner at the Hôtel-de-Ville. They told me that they and the Government were much hooted by the mob in the place below, both on their entrance and departure, under the name of “les fainéants.”

I do not see notice of this in any of the papers this morning. It was a clear proof that there was no great belief in the existence of popular feeling, that no attempt in their favour was made on the part of the Government to prescribe, and no effort on the part of the people to enforce, in any instance, the illumination of a private house.

Nov. 20. 6. P. M.

I have just seen M. Bastide on his return from the country. He had received a telegraphic message, saying, that M. Rossi, the President of the Council at Rome, had been assassinated; but the telegraphic message did not give any details, either as to the nature of the wound or the character of the attempt.

Nov. 21.

An incident has just occurred in the National Assembly which cannot but have most important consequences. I happened to be there when General Cavaignac unexpectedly mounted the tribune and said that the Government, to which the Chamber had confided the administration of the country now five months since, had been exposed to many attacks and calumnies which he had disregarded on account of the quarters from whence they had come, but that when the names of some of his colleagues were attached to these imputations he felt bound to ask M. Garnier-Pagès, M. Pagnerre, and M. Duclerc, whether they had cir-

culated a paper impugning his conduct in the affairs of June, and, if so, to demand that a day should be given for a discussion on the subject. M. Garnier-Pagès immediately rushed to the tribune and said, with some warmth, that, as to attacks, any men in power were subject to them; as to calumnies, the lives of himself and his colleagues were sufficient guarantees that such were not weapons they used; they had themselves been the victims of calumny for five months: if they had been silent during all that time, it was out of regard to other interests than their own, but that now the whole truth should be told. There then arose rather a confused discussion as to fixing the day. MM. Ledru-Rollin, Joly, and others, insisting that M. Lamartine should be present,—General Cavaignac offering, to avoid delay, to sacrifice the presence of M. Marie, rather than wait for that of M. Lamartine.

This proposal was not very well received, though M. Duclerc said he could supply the testimony of M. Lamartine, having been also present, and heard what passed between him and General Cavaignac on the afternoon of the 23rd of June.

It was ultimately decided that the discussion should take place on Saturday, in order that all may be present. There is no doubt that the postponement, at so critical a moment before the election, is very disadvantageous to General Cavaignac, particularly as attention was rather unfairly drawn,

by M. Duclerc and others, to supposed conversations imputing blame to him at the time.

It is evident that the contest between these two sections of the Moderate Republicans, never when united a large party, will be pursued with extreme rancour. With so versatile a people, it is just possible, should the occasion be seized with promptitude and skill by M. Lamartine, it may revive the chances of his almost forgotten "candidature," but the obvious tendency of the quarrel is to give an additional advantage to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

Nov. 23.

I yesterday recorded my own first impressions of the serious consequences likely to arise from the contest just proclaimed in the Assembly between General Cavaignac and the members of the late Executive Commission.

These impressions were at once shared by all Paris. The funds fell heavily. Those who had previously entertained vague fears of an approaching conflict in the streets now regarded that conflict as imminent. The confidence of the violent clubs increased in proportion as the result of

mutual recriminations seemed necessarily to tend to apportion distrust and discontent between the different persons who had been in the exercise of power.

The effect which may remain will most probably be influenced by other considerations not directly connected with the precise merits of these parties during the events in question ; and it is impossible as yet to foresee what is likely to be the impulse of the moment. I have never believed it possible that anything should come out affecting the personal honour of General Cavaignac in reference to these events ; but I believe him to have been ill-served by some of his subordinates, and those men he has continued up to this time in the public service. The Ministers, however, assure me that they will be able to prove, by the returns, that the number of men ordered by the Executive Commission were at that time actually in Paris. This may be so, but I have a distinct recollection that such was not the language used at the War Office on the Saturday afternoon, when the deficiency of troops was the reason given for postponing active operations in many points in Paris until the next morning.

Much speculation is afloat as to the conduct which M. Lamartine is likely to pursue on this occasion. For the first three months after the insurrection, he proclaimed, to every one who chose to listen to him, that he was in the possession of facts

which would annihilate General Cavaignac ; but latterly it is supposed there has been rather an approximation between them. I remarked that M. Duclerc was not desirous the debate should be postponed for M. Lamartine's arrival, whilst some of the Ministers expressed anxiety that he should be there. It seems to me not impossible that, unless he is too much bound to his party by his former declarations, he may take the line of professing too much attachment to the Republic to allow him to indulge his personal feelings by giving way to accusations against any one.

The peculiar style of M. Lamartine's oratory would give much effect to any such professions of magnanimity ; and whilst they would be of immediate service to General Cavaignac, their apparent generosity might have the effect of diverting from the General to the speaker the suffrages of many sincere Republicans. Should a plausible case be made out for the General, as there is little reason to doubt, the Assembly will, I feel sure, support him by an *ordre du jour motivé*, as the majority is entirely at his disposition for any such purpose ; but that majority has lost much of its authority in the country, and I am afraid the matter cannot be made so clear but that it must permanently injure him, to have been subject to suspicion with reference to that conduct which is his principal, almost his only, public claim to the position he at present holds.

All speculations as to the future are for the present suspended, as they must entirely depend upon the turn which events may take on Saturday, which it is impossible for any one as yet to foresee with certainty.

Nov. 24.

The Cabinet and its agents are unremitting in their exertions, of every description, to ensure the election of General Cavaignac to the Presidency. I have more than once recorded my opinion that general corruption and venality in election matters have not diminished with the Revolution ; therefore, should the Ministers once succeed in persuading the people that General Cavaignac's election was probable, it would thereby be ensured. As yet not much progress has been made in this direction, but they calculate on the effect of yesterday's sitting as favourable to the Government. It is asserted that, whatever may be the relative numbers, if Prince Louis Napoleon should not have an absolute majority, the Assembly will name the General.

I do not the least doubt their inclination to do so, but somewhat their courage. There have been many bad and some good votes of this Assembly ; but

it would be difficult among the latter to find a single bold one; every beneficial tendency may generally have been traced to some variety of immediate apprehension. To be sure, there is no saying how strong may be the motives of self-preservation. They feel that with the General they will be allowed peaceably to pursue the course they have traced out to themselves for the next two years, whereas the country, with another President, would have the force to require new elections. It is not merely the maintenance of their principles, but the preservation of their means of existence, which is in question. Very many never before possessed 7000 francs a year, and are not likely again to do so, either as Representatives or by any other means. They would have to retire again into their obscure neighbourhoods, amidst the ridicule of the opponents whom they left in triumph a few months since, and the reproaches of their supporters, who would believe that the late day-dreams of universal democracy had been compromised by their incapacity. Never, therefore, existed such a complication of motives to influence the conduct of a body of men, of whom scrupulous disinterestedness is certainly not the characteristic.

Nov. 25.

I was wrong in supposing that all interest was suspended till Saturday, as the great discussion

promised for that day was preceded by some questions in the sitting of Friday by M. Jules Favre as to the abuse of Government influence in the elections.

The discussion was principally remarkable for the spirit shown by this Republican Assembly on such a subject. Knowing their devotion to the existing Government, it was to be expected that they would give ready evidence to any denial of the facts; but, on the contrary, they seemed to glory in the distribution of ministerial promises and the direct intervention of Government agents, all which they indirectly showed they considered quite correct in so good a cause. M. Jules Favre's *exposé* of the details of corrupt influence and authoritative intimidation which prevailed at this moment throughout the country in favour of the election of the existing head of the Government, were not unnaturally interrupted by little mementos of what had been the system of the Home Office in the months of March and April; and when he attempted to explain, "Quand j'étais fonctionnaire subordonné d'un homme dont j'étais, dont je n'ai pas cessé d'être, l'ami," this declaration was received with what the "Moniteur" calls "hilarité générale," in which M. Ledru-Rollin seemed heartily to participate; and the recollection of certain intonations of voice, anything but friendly, addressed to his former chief in the month of June from that very tribune recurred to every one. The fact, however,

stated, as usual, with much skill by M. Jules Favre, would have raised an outcry if traced to M. Duchâtel, but the Assembly was in a mood to think all *bel et bon* done by M. Dufaure and in the interest of General Cavaignac. Independent of this demonstration of feeling on the part of the Assembly, there were two incidents worth noticing: one was the allusion to a correspondence between M. Dufaure and M. Odier, the other that minister's incidental mention of the clubs.* All is strange and irregular in the present position of this unfortunate country; but that a minister should be called upon to give a certificate of character to his employer does seem marvellous.

M. Dufaure seems to have been aware how anomalous was his position when he gave as his only excuse for his reply that his silence might have been misconstrued. The value of this excuse

* This alludes to a proceeding that was certainly very unusual. M. Odier, a Member of the Chamber of Commerce of the Seine, had written to M. Dufaure, to ask him his opinion of the different candidates for the Presidency. M. Dufaure, in answering that letter, amongst other reasons stated why, as a friend of order, he should prefer General Cavaignac. This was brought before the Assembly by M. Jules Favre, who showed the absurdity of the position thus created. "Le ministre se pose comme le patron du candidat dont il tient un portefeuille, et le candidat reçoit de celui auquel il a donné un portefeuille un certificat de moralité." When he further went on to say, "Messieurs, nous avons renversé un Gouvernement de privilège, d'abus, d'influence; sachons-nous respecter nous-mêmes, et n'alterons pas les mœurs publiques," a voice was heard to say, "Au mois d'Avril pensiez-vous de même?"

is much diminished to those who know that the whole affair was arranged beforehand, and that the letter was never written till the answer was assured. M. Dufaure must feel that whatever value at this moment the National and Republican papers may attach to this recommendation from an ex-Minister of Louis-Philippe, others may well say, "Of course Dufaure must have believed General Cavaignac to be all he says, or else he would not have consented to serve him; if he should have been deceived, this letter does not mend the matter:" but the opinion of the Minister of the Interior, the dispenser of all the patronage of the country, that he means to continue in office, should the General's election be procured, gives additional weight to his efforts in the departments. M. Odier's step is indicative of the feeling which I believe exists, not only with capitalists like himself, but also amongst the small commerce of Paris, many of whom are inclined to think with him that the election of the General would be the most favourable chance of temporary quiet; and their great object is to reach the end of next month without a struggle, as that might increase their difficulty of meeting their annual engagements. The line which M. Dufaure took during the same sitting about the clubs was very unworthy of a Minister whose word was to be sufficient guarantee that his chief's desire was to maintain public order. I stated here a month ago that

General Cavaignac had been ready, upon advice given him, to suppress the clubs, but that M. Dufaure declined to bring in such a measure. M. Dufaure now declares that the delicacy of General Cavaignac's position as a candidate prevents his interfering with the clubs, which might now term themselves election meetings. I have seen extracts from the proceedings of some of the clubs latterly, which prove that there is no limit to the atrocity of language which M. Dufaure thinks the coming election a sufficient reason to tolerate.

It is just about a twelvemonth since M. Dufaure, when applied to to attend a Reform Banquet, said he would support that question in the Chamber, but he would not be a party to anything which might promote agitation in the country.

Nov. 26.

The discussion in the National Assembly upon the conduct of General Cavaignac and the Executive Commission with reference to the events of June did not conclude until a late hour last night, and the verdict of the 28th of June was upon this new trial confirmed by an immense majority. An order of the day to this effect, moved by M. Dupont de l'Eure, was supported by 583 votes; but about 170 members who had assisted at this discussion, I am informed, abstained from pronouncing the opinion thus provoked.

As I was an attentive observer of every step in these transactions, and was the first to congratulate the General upon the result of the conflict, I feel it a duty on a point of so much historical interest to record frankly my own impressions derived from new facts, unswayed by any partiality arising from subsequent personal communication with the General, and independent of the judgment just pronounced with so much passion by the National Assembly.

It is necessary, in the first place, to remark that nothing could throughout be so unskilful as the conduct of that portion of the General's former colleagues who constituted themselves his accusers. As a matter of fairness, too, they evidently had but one of two courses to pursue,—either to remain perfectly silent until that which they considered the proper moment to speak out had arrived, or at once to give public expression to their complaints. Instead of which, they circulated amongst a few friends an elaborate statement of that which they called a fragment of history. This, which was never intended for the tribune, and contained much unworthy *com-mé-*rage** mixed up with grave facts, they were injudicious enough to read as a sort of indictment, instead of extracting its substance in a speech. The first effect of this was to give the General such an oratorical triumph as his best friends could never, from any former experience, have anticipated for him. He had been presented two days before with

a copy of this *quasi* indictment, and had, as he stated candidly, been provided by his friends with the means of reply. Thus better supplied with the munitions of war than had been the troops in June, he manœuvred his papers with as much facility as he would have done battalions, occupied a commanding position in the tribune for nearly three hours, and thoroughly availed himself of all those advantages which a man always has in defending himself from odious imputations, upon a subject where previous impressions are all in his favour, and before those who are devoted to his interests. He said that he pleaded as an advocate, and it ~~was~~ obvious he spoke from a brief skilfully prepared; but when he repudiated the idea of having been actuated by unworthy motives, the evident sincerity of his language produced all the effect he could desire, and therefore made one more regret the menace, twice repeated towards the conclusion, that in his defence he might drop the advocate for the soldier: such a menace was unseemly on such an occasion, and absurd in his position.

I will now endeavour shortly to place in juxtaposition certain new facts which, however unskilfully treated by the opponents of the General, are nevertheless not denied, and must not be forgotten in a fair appreciation of the conduct of the different parties. The accusation against the Executive Commission was that, either by carelessness or treachery, they had allowed the insurrection to acquire such head

as made it afterwards difficult to subdue, and had thereby caused an unnecessary effusion of blood. The proof given of such misconduct was that, during all the first day, the National Guards were exposed unsupported by regular troops. Both M. Ledru-Rollin and M. Lamartine were, during the afternoon of Friday, the 23rd, insulted as traitors, because to them was attributed this state of things. The next morning the National Guard, disgusted at such desertion, abstained from turning out; at twelve o'clock the appointment of General Cavaignac to the Government and a new system of attack were simultaneously announced, and the whole population rallied round their deliverer. It was little suspected at this time that the Executive Commission had been unanimous in pressing upon the General precisely that very line of conduct, the neglect of which had led to their own disgrace and his elevation. No accumulation of coincidences, nothing short of positive proof, could persuade me that the General could ever have participated in any dishonourable intrigue; but it is beyond doubt (without, as I believe, his complicity) that such an intrigue was in progress for some days; that the proposal to place him at the head of affairs and to force out the actual government, was communicated to him by one reunion of Representatives on the 22nd; that on the same day his readiness to accept it was announced to another reunion, which had made him no offer; and that, from that time till

the event actually occurred, he had been silent on the subject to those in whose service he was. My reflection upon this incident would be that upon this, as upon many other occasions, the General was to a certain extent unconsciously made the tool of more designing men, and placed thereby in a position that subjected him to suspicions of conduct of which I believe him to have been utterly incapable. The more serious question, as affecting the value of his services, is, whether the number of troops necessary for the preservation of Paris had been provided as ordered by the Government, and whether the best use was made of them. As to the amount of troops the General used, returns prepared by Col. Charras of the War Office proved that the amount ordered by the Provisional Government had been provided; and the General further stated that he had always required to be assured that one regiment had arrived before another was removed, in order that sixteen regiments should be constantly at Paris. It must therefore have been merely the effect of temper when he told the Executive Commission, on the morning of the 23rd, that he could not give them the least idea what troops were in Paris without consulting Colonel Charras. In these returns further credit was taken for the presence of a division of the Army of the Alps at Bourges, ordered by the Executive Government. But this division did not arrive at that destination till fourteen days after the events had taken place. With

every deference for military authority on all such subjects, it seems difficult to understand that anything but a deficiency in the necessary number of troops can render it desirable rather to permit the erection of barricades through a considerable portion of the city than to prevent their first construction. As barricades are supposed to constitute for a mob the great advantage of street-fighting, it would seem that the same number of troops would have an easier task without them than with them. The General's plan must, after all, be judged by the results it contemplated; and, unfortunately for its favourable appreciation, he was indiscreet enough, on the morning of Saturday, the 24th, to tell it to the assembled Executive Commission, saying that he was not there to defend the Parisians and the shops; that, if he was driven from Paris, he would retire to the plain of St. Denis, and there give battle to the insurgents,—showing that he completely mistook the nature of the service in which he was engaged. Cursed as France is with so complete a system of centralisation, if the insurgents could have taken possession of and occupied the Hôtel-de-Ville, and worked the telegraph, they would not have given a thought to the General and his army in the plain of St. Denis. Indeed, this very obvious reply was made to him, according to the statement of M. Barthélémy de St. Hilaire at the time. This was repeated in the hearing of all in the Assembly last night, as well

as the declaration of the General's, that if a single company had been disarmed he would have blown out his brains under such disgrace. In recording these statements it must be recollected that the General's enemies are very likely, under a sense of unmerited obloquy, to have combined to record with spiteful precision everything that their memory furnished disadvantageous to the General; but, on the other hand, they may be believed quite incapable of conspiring to fix upon the General expressions which they did not hear him utter. Therefore the words here cited must be held really to have been spoken by him in moments of impatience. Indeed, he could not attempt to deny their use positively; he only disclaimed the possibility of any disparaging mention of the Parisians. M. Barthélémy thus describes an incident which took place on the evening of the 23rd:—"Une dernière tentative fut faite auprès du Général. MM. Arago, Marie, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, avec M. Barthélémy St. Hilaire le pressèrent de commencer l'attaque. Le Général fut inflexible, et les instances dont il était l'objet irritant sa colère, 'Croyez-vous,' dit-il, 'que je sois ici pour défendre vos Parisiens, votre Garde Nationale? Qu'elle défende, elle-même, sa ville et ses boutiques. Je ne veux pas disséminer mes troupes. Je me rappelle 1830. Je me rappelle Février. Si une seule de mes compagnies est desarmée, si nous subissons encore une fois cet affront, je me brûle la cervelle, je ne

survivrai pas à ce deshonneur.' On eut beau représenter au Général que son suicide ne remédierait à rien, qu'il s'agissait d'enlever les barricades qu'il avait laissé former. Aucun argument ne put le décider à donner l'ordre de l'attaque; le moment décisif ne lui parut pas encore venu. On ajouta que les insurgés gagnaient à tout instant du terrain. 'Que m'importe?' répondit le Général, 'Eh bien, s'ils sont maîtres de Paris, je me retirerai avec mon armée dans les plaines de St. Denis et je leur livrerai bataille.' 'Oui,' dit M. Arago, 'mais ils ne vous y suivront pas.'"

The General felt the imprudence of these declarations yesterday, and attempted to amend them. He said he would have desired to have been accompanied by the National Assembly; but it was evident this was an after-thought, and the original idea was purely strategic, as, in the first place, the plain of St. Denis was not precisely the place for the National Assembly to meet, and it was directly the opposite quarter of Paris to that where it would have been possible for that body to effect a retreat in case of necessity. One must recollect that the issue joined last night was not as to the general merits of the two Governments, the Executive Commission or the subsequent Dictatorship of General Cavaignac, but which of the two was specially to blame for the conduct pursued in the first four-and-twenty hours of the Insurrection of June, and which allowed that movement to assume such proportions

as to require immense loss of life before it could be subdued. This was generally at the time attributed to the hesitation, if not treachery, of the Executive Commission; and the salvation of society was specially connected with the appointment of General Cavaignac. This was my own opinion upon the balance of information I received at the time. Therefore common fairness obliges me now to state that I think it is clearly proved that if the barricades were not attacked and taken whilst in the process of formation, the fault was not with the Executive Commission; that they have proved, beyond the power of contradiction, that they urged this course repeatedly during the 23rd upon the General. He seems to have acted under one of the best of military impulses, — a susceptibility for the professional honour of the troops. But surely this was pushed to a morbid extent when, for the possible risk of any defeat of a portion of the regular army, he preferred to sacrifice the Garde Nationale, which was equally fighting under French colours, recently presented to them by the Republican Government which he was also serving. Though they received no pay, the cause was the same; they were also fighting for their families and their homes. Yes, and also for the shops, as the General seems to have somewhat slightly designated their homes. Upon the whole, even at this moment of General Cavaignac's undoubted parliamentary triumph, I am inclined to think that the perma-

nent effect of this second discussion will be rather to diminish the amount of merit which posterity will accord to him for the events of June. The insurrection was mainly subdued by the co-operation of the great majority of the population, by overwhelming numbers, with, however, great loss of life, and, I think I must add, by no particular exercise of peculiar military skill. Where the General did render essential service was by the energy with which he resisted any persuasion to induce him to treat with the insurgents whilst in arms. He thus communicated a spirit to the National Assembly to pass measures of repression in which they might otherwise have been found wanting. And, however stubborn facts may prove his merits to have been exaggerated, the general conviction of the existence of these merits has certainly been of great use in maintaining tranquillity during the last few months. The discussion last night had, however, collaterally, one excellent effect for the cause of order, and possibly for the election interests of General Cavaignac, in enabling him, in the heat of debate, to make a distinct disclaimer of any possible connexion between himself and M. Ledru-Rollin. "Assurément oui, cette séparation existe, et quant à moi, je déclare que je ne prévois guère qu'elle puisse jamais cesser."

The news from Rome is of extreme gravity. After the assassination of Count Rossi, the Pope had been assaulted in the Quirinal by an armed mob joined by the troops and the Civic Guard, and

was defended alone by a few faithful Swiss Guards. A prelate had been killed in the palace, and a Ministry at the moment forced, name by name, upon the Pope. M. d'Harcourt was authorised by his Holiness to ask either for refuge in France, or, at any rate, for such assistance as should enable him to restore order amongst his subjects.

M. Bastide told me he did not know how it was possible to refuse such a request.* I should deeply regret their taking any immediate step in conse-

* The unexpected announcement of their intention on the part of the Government, obliged me personally to take my own line in the way of remonstrance. It is not uncharitable to suppose that the publicity given to an alleged appeal on the part of his Holiness, and the boast made of the line about to be taken, had some connection with electioneering purposes, and I here omit the notes of many interesting conversations I had with General Cavaignac and M. Bastide. Though the design was abandoned before the language held by myself in opposition to it could express more than my individual opinion, yet I hold it to be well not, under any circumstances, to yield to the temptation of what might be considered as tampering with official confidence. The rule which I have uniformly followed, in giving publicity to any opinions of my friends, or of the persons with whom I lived, as to the events that were passing around, has been to endeavour to omit everything that they could possibly desire me not to publish. If there have been any exceptions, I can assure them they have been unintentional. If any criticisms which an impartial spirit may have obliged me to make upon any part of their conduct have not been struck out, I have founded my judgments upon public notoriety, not upon any communications made to myself. As I have stated before, it is only in the case of Lamartine, and during the continuance of the Provisional Government, that I have given in *extenso*, and with few omissions, all that passed between me

quence of this request, as I foresee many complications from it, though the French Government evidently seem to consider it an imperious necessity.

and one holding an official position ; but then M. de Lamartine had, very soon after his retirement from office, himself published, without reserve, all that had passed between himself, his supporters, his opponents, and his colleagues ; and in that work he had alluded to "les conversations presque journalières" which he had had with me, as a faithful exposition of his foreign policy, by which he should like to be judged. As of course he could have had no time to keep a record of these conversations, and as I sincerely believe that, in their general spirit, they will be found exceedingly creditable to him, I willingly give him what I trust will be found the benefit of my recollections.

CHAP. XXI.

THE POPE'S APPLICATION TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FOR PROTECTION.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE DESPATCH OF TROOPS TO CIVITA VECCHIA.—CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL CAVAIGNAC ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.—REMONSTRANCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE CHARACTER OF THE EXPEDITION TO ROME.—THE EXPEDITION AN ELECTIONEERING STRATAGEM.—INSTRUCTIONS TO M. DE COURCELLES.—PROBABLE EFFECT OF THE EXPEDITION ON EUROPEAN POLITICS.—SPEECH OF M. MONTALEMBERT.—M. JULES FAVRE ON THE TEMPORAL AUTHORITY OF THE POPE.—FLIGHT OF THE POPE.—THANKS OF THE APOSTOLIC NUNCIO TO THE ASSEMBLY.—REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT.—SUPPOSED DESIRE OF THE POPE TO COME TO FRANCE.—HIS LETTER TO CAVAIGNAC.—WITHDRAWAL OF THE PROPOSED DECREE FOR "LES RÉCOMPENSES NATIONALES."—UNSCRUPULOUS USE OF GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE TO SECURE THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Nov. 27.

I WAS naturally anxious to hear this morning what determination had already been taken in consequence of the appeal made to the French Government by the Pope. It appears orders have been sent by the telegraph, to embark the brigade at present at Marseilles, which had been left there for some time past, in consequence of the intention once entertained of sending them to Venice. These would sail for Civita Vecchia on board three men-of-war steamers, which would hold 2500 men, as soon as

M. de Courcelles (Member of the Assembly) could arrive at Marseilles. He, M. de Courcelles, as diplomatic agent, was to be the bearer of the instructions of the Government, and the military and naval authorities were to be under his control. After his arrival at Civita Vecchia, he was to announce to the Pope that he had been sent in consequence of the appeal made to the French Government. He was to offer to protect the person of his Holiness, and, if necessary, to give him for that purpose refuge on board; but without further instructions, the troops were not to be landed, and still less occupy any place in the Papal territory.

The position of the French Government is doubtless very difficult at this moment; if they should delay answering the direct and pressing appeal which they say they have received from such a quarter, till the time should elapse necessary for consultations with other Powers, there is no doubt that would be precisely the point of attack taken by their adversaries, as it would be said that any delay under the circumstances might lead to bloodshed and anarchy.

I omit any details of a conversation I had with the General on these matters, who turned from the critical position of the Pope to the still more precarious nature of his own power, and to the chances of the Presidential election. The General made one or two remarks, towards its conclusion, which

struck me as extraordinary. He had certainly increased hopes of success; and as he encouraged me to speak without reserve, I remarked, that I thought his declaration of separation from the Mountain had already done him much good, but that his weak point in the country was the belief that it was his intention to prolong indefinitely the existence of an Assembly which the country thought had accomplished the purpose for which it was chosen. If he were sensibly to shorten the list of those laws called organic, which had to some the appearance of having been extended for the purpose of delay, I thought that was a step which would restore to him the support of many of the moderate party who were still in doubt, and who had no predilection for his opponent. The General's only answer was, that new elections, for some time to come, would destroy the Republic. He continued to make other remarks in the same spirit, which left me with the impression that even he did not think the country republican, that he had convinced himself it never had been, but considered it his mission to make it so; and with that object alone he sought the Presidency. I told him I quite admitted I was an inadequate judge of the best means of effecting such a purpose; that it was difficult for any one, not initiated in their system, to say what was the necessary extent of restraint to be exercised without such an appearance of usurpation as might promote open resistance. The General afterwards

fully admitted in conversation that he felt, with me, his difficulty was much increased by his being obliged to separate himself from the most active, and perhaps the most numerous, of that portion of the minority through which he meant to govern the country.

Strange and anomalous as is the position thus avowed, I am convinced the General sincerely believes he is labouring to establish the permanent welfare of his country.

Nov. 28.

I have urged all in my power to induce the French Government at least to modify the character of their expedition to Rome. I remarked to them that I did not exactly comprehend its composition as applicable to the simple object which it professed, I doubt not, in all sincerity. The embarkation of infantry regiments appeared less adapted to secure a safe asylum for the Pope, in case of necessity, than the despatch to Civita Vecchia of a portion of the fleet of Admiral Baudin. The professed desire of the French Government was the confirmation of the Pope as that constitutional sovereign which he himself assumed to be; France being as unwilling that a Republic should be

founded at Rome, as that despotism should be re-established by other foreign intervention. Nothing could be more prudent than such a declaration, but it is necessary that it should be as public as the expedition; because one must consider, not only the intention, but the probable effect of the step about to be taken. By facilitating the departure of the Pope from Rome, the greatest impediment which the anarchists now felt to the establishment of what they would call a Republican Government would be removed. There was that sanctity attached to the person of the Pope, that any attempt against his life or liberty would excite universal indignation; but if the Pope were once persuaded, by the presence of a French force, to abdicate his authority and leave his States, whatever might be the praiseworthy intention, the fact would be obvious that, by the nature of these proceedings, France would have tended to the formation of a Republic which would owe its origin to successful assassination.

Serious consequences might arise from such a step as sending an inadequate force of a menacing character. This I have always thought was a step most dangerous for a great Power to take, as certain to lead to future embarrassments. It might be said the object was definite, but then the force was not appropriate; what could three or four thousand men do in enforcing counsels from seventy miles' distance? If the name of France,

and the authority of a French diplomatist sent specially, did not prevail, this expedition was calculated to irritate those it was meant to persuade; whilst it might be mistaken in other parts of Italy as an encouragement to revolution. M. de Courcelles, sent in a war steamer, and supported at Civita Vecchia by a portion of Admiral Baudin's fleet, would, in my opinion, have answered every good purpose. I have been extremely anxious to prevent the execution of this unforeseen intention, and have thought of little else for the last two days; and these are some of the reasons against such an expedition which I have not failed to urge upon the French Government.

The news from Rome has no doubt produced an immense sensation. The assassination of Count Rossi has shocked the moral feelings of those most favourably disposed to the experiment now tried at Rome, and no one circumstance could throughout France produce so universal a feeling of disgust, as any indignity offered to the Pope. I regret to say, however, that there is a general impression that the precipitation which has marked the proceedings of the French Government with regard to the expedition to Civita Vecchia, is mainly attributable to electioneering purposes. Some of the heads of the clergy are said to have boasted they could dispose of a million of votes, according as this step was or was not taken; and time pressed, as the effect was to be produced by

next Sunday. Even those with whom the measure originated admit such to have been the principal object in view. The reader will find here portrayed a further remarkable instance of the injurious working of the Republican form of government in that which is its peculiar characteristic — the election of its executive chief. A few days since, we had the testimony of the head of the Government, that he considered its regular action paralysed by the uncertainty thus produced ; and we have now that action deranged in its relations with foreign Powers by a sudden *coup d'état*, in order that the most elevated pretences, in association with the most sacred feelings, should be made subservient to an immediate traffic in votes.

General Cavaignac has, in answer to a question from M. Bixio, just read to the Assembly the instructions to M. de Courcelles, which I here subjoin, and which are in substance much what I had expected.

“ Monsieur et cher Collègue.

“ Vous connaissez les déplorables évènements qui se sont passés dans la ville de Rome, et qui ont réduit le Saint-Père à une sorte de captivité.

“ En présence de ces évènements, le gouvernement de la République vient de décider que quatre frégates à vapeur, portant à leurs bords une brigade de 3500 hommes, seraient dirigées sur Civita Vecchia.

“ Il a décidé également que vous vous rendriez

à Rome, en qualité d'Envoyé Extraordinaire. Votre mission a pour but d'intervenir, au nom de la République française, pour faire rendre à sa Sainteté sa liberté personnelle, si elle en était privée

“ Si même il entrait dans son intention, vu les circonstances actuelles, de se retirer momentanément sur le territoire de la République, vous assurerez, autant qu'il sera en vous, la réalisation de ce vœu, et vous assurerez le Pape qu'il trouvera au sein de la nation française un accueil digne d'elle, et digne aussi des vertus dont il a donné tant de preuves.

“ Vous n'êtes autorisé à intervenir dans aucune des questions politiques qui s'agitent à Rome. Il appartient à l'Assemblée Nationale seule de déterminer la part qu'elle voudra faire prendre à la République dans les mesures qui devront concourir au rétablissement d'une situation régulière dans les États de l'Église. Pour le moment, vous avez, au nom du gouvernement qui vous envoie, et qui en cela reste dans la limite des pouvoirs qui lui ont été confiés, à assurer la liberté et le respect de la personne du Pape.

“ A votre arrivée devant Civita Vecchia, vous débarquerez de votre personne pour vous rendre auprès de M. d'Harcourt, avec lequel vous aurez à vous entendre, pour agir ensuite conjointement dans la ligne qui vous est tracée par le gouvernement. Vous ne ferez débarquer les troupes mises à votre disposition que dans le cas où, soit à Civita Vecchia

même, soit dans un rayon extérieur proportionné à leur effectif, elles pourraient concourir à assurer le succès de votre mission. Des mesures sont prises pour renforcer cette brigade, si cela devenait nécessaire, et vous recevrez sans doute des instructions ultérieures plus développées, si l'Assemblée Nationale l'a jugé convenable.

“ Je ne saurais trop insister pour vous faire comprendre que votre mission n'a, et ne peut avoir, pour le moment, d'autre but que d'assurer la sûreté personnelle du Saint-Père, et, dans un cas extrême, sa retraite momentanée sur le territoire de la République. Vous aurez soin de proclamer hautement que vous n'aurez à intervenir à aucun titre dans les dissentiments qui séparent aujourd'hui le Saint-Père du peuple qu'il gouverne.

“ La République, mue par un sentiment qui est une vieille tradition pour la nation française, se porte aux secours de la personne du Pape, elle ne pense pas à autre chose. Votre mission est délicate, elle exige une grande sûreté de vues et d'appréciation ; le gouvernement de la République a pleine confiance dans les sentiments qui vont vous diriger.

“ Je dois insister aussi sur l'emploi que vous pouvez avoir à faire des troupes qui sont confiées à votre direction supérieure. Leur débarquement ne doit être opéré qu'autant que, dans le rayon très-court où il leur sera possible d'agir, elles pourraient concourir au seul résultat que vous ayez à attendre, la sûreté du Pape.

“ Il est possible que les évènements vous paraissent faire ressortir des nécessités que je ne prévois pas ici ; dans ce cas, vous auriez à prendre sans délai les ordres du gouvernement de la République, qui, suivant les cas et les propositions que vous aurez eu à lui faire, se décidera soit par son initiative, soit après avoir pris les ordres de l'Assemblée.

The despatch of M. d'Harcourt, upon which this expedition is founded, is also to be produced. The discussion is postponed until Thursday. One cannot but foresee a number of not improbable contingencies from such instructions as these given to M. de Courcelles, who is on a sort of special mission to accompany these 3000 men sent to Civita Vecchia ; an expedition out of all proportion to the occasion, if the object is only to ensure the personal safety of the Pope, and quite inadequate if to be applied to any purposes of political influence. M. Bixio gave but a discouraging picture of the present state of public feeling in the country to which he owes his name and origin, when he said, “des villes entières ont fêté un lâche assassinat.”

I am aware I undertake a thankless task while I persevere in urging my own opinion, as all this has occurred so suddenly, that there has not been time as yet to hear anything from England. Ever since the Revolution, my one great object which I have uniformly kept in view has been, to prevent the appearance of a French soldier beyond

the French territory. I consider that upon that one point, in the present state of Europe, may turn the question of general war! In this instance, however little formidable may be the force in actual numbers, and however fair the professions by which it is heralded, one cannot but see that it is unfitted for the purpose alleged, while, if persevered in now, it must be after even that alleged purpose has ceased to account for it. On another occasion, I took upon myself the responsibility of a step calculated to prevent the imminent danger of a passage of the Alps; I then acted in accordance with the wishes of the French Government. I am now obliged to oppose not only their intentions, but, at this moment, I think, also their immediate interests. After I returned from the Assembly at night, an order of the day giving a very qualified approbation to the measures of Government was carried. The debate began with rather a curious dispute, as to precedence in the tribune, between M. Montalembert and M. Ledru-Rollin, which was at length submitted to the Assembly, and given in favour of M. Ledru-Rollin. This, as a matter of taste, would appear a singular result; but as a question of parliamentary practice, according to our experience, it was right, as M. Ledru-Rollin was in possession of the tribune on Tuesday, when the debate was adjourned, and M. Montalembert was only the first inscribed for the resumed discussion. One wonders rather that M. Montalembert, with his oratorical

practice, which enables him to avail himself with peculiar parliamentary tact of any mistake in the preceding speeches, should not have foreseen the advantage likely to be given to him, by allowing M. Ledru-Rollin to speak first; who, instead of confining himself to the strong part of his case, — the evident inconsistency of a government which within the year owed its own existence to the barricades of Paris, sending an utterly inapplicable force for the professed object of making a threatening demonstration against popular movement, — chose to take under his special protection the conduct of the Roman Assembly, and actually to quote the words of M. d'Harcourt's despatch in their commendation: " M. Rossi a été frappé à mort ! le peuple est resté profondément indifférent. Le meurtre a été commis sur les degrés de la Salle de l'Assemblée, et l'Assemblée a continué à délibérer sans même faire un incident de ce grave événement."

M. Montalembert never, in his happiest moments of inspired eloquence, produced a more striking effect than by the simple repetition, somewhat differently accentuated, of the very same passage in M. d'Harcourt's despatch, which had been used by M. Ledru-Rollin, in support of his view of the state of public feeling at Rome; and which M. Montalembert used to produce a stigmatizing cry against the conduct of the Roman Assembly itself: " Mais si je descends à l'application

des faits dont il s'agit en ce moment à la situation romaine, est-ce que je voudrais admettre, est-ce que vous pouvez, vous qui m'interrompez, vous républicains français, admettre quelque analogie entre la situation romaine et la situation et les devoirs de la France ?

“Quoi, par exemple, est-ce que cette Assemblée romaine, que je ne veux pas qualifier autrement que par la lecture du passage que l'honorable M. Ledru-Rollin citait tout à l'heure et comme un argument contre nous. Le voici : ‘L'Assemblée, sur les degrés du palais de laquelle s'était commis le meurtre, a continué gravement la lecture de son procès-verbal, et il n'a pas été fait la moindre mention de l'incident pendant toute la durée de la séance.’” It may be remarked that the words are not precisely the same in the two citations, but M. Dufaure, quoting afterwards from the text of the despatch itself, showed that the version of M. Montalembert was the correct one, and that even M. Ledru-Rollin had thought it necessary to soften the phrases, in order to render the evidence of the “cynisme révoltant” of the Assembly less apparent.

M. Montalembert then reverting to the same theme as had been touched by M. Bixio on Tuesday, when he said, “des villes entières ont fêté un lâche assassinat,” pointed out the great danger that these sanguinary disciples of Italian liberty might disgust all otherwise well disposed to the inde-

pendence of that country, and alienate them from their cause.

“ Je n’ai pas l’intention de me poser ici en apologiste ou en apôtre de la démocratie. Mais enfin vous ne voulez pas m’empêcher, je pense, de reconnaître que la démocratie est la loi souveraine du pays où je suis et du temps où je vis. Et c’est pourquoi j’ai voté avec vous tous que la République était démocratique, car je ne comprends pas ce que peut être en France au 19^m siècle une république aristocratique ou monarchique. Mais je le déclare, en votant cette épithète, ou plutôt cette idée (et je suis sûr que la presque unanimité du pays est d’accord avec moi), je n’ai pas entendu voter ce qu’on appelle en Italie aujourd’hui le triomphe de la cause démocratique, le poignard démocratique. On l’a dit partout en Italie, c’est affiché à Livourne, c’est écrit dans tous les journaux, c’est chanté dans les rues de Rome. Ils appellent le meurtre de M. Rossi le triomphe de la cause démocratique, et ils chantent des hymnes en l’honneur du poignard sacré, du poignard démocratique, qui l’a immolé.

“ Eh bien, moi j’adjure tous les vrais démocrates, tous les démocrates sincères, tous les démocrates anciens, tous les démocrates honnêtes, de s’unir à moi pour protester contre cette abominable synonyme ; et je déclare qu’il le faut pour l’honneur de la France.

“ Est-ce que la France ne s’est pas faite le porte-

drapeau de la démocratie dans le monde? Eh bien, en cette qualité, il lui appartient de protester contre la prostitution sanglante de l'idée, et du nom dont elle a fait le symbole de la constitution."

M. Jules Favre followed in a speech not so amusing as some of his more envenomed attacks, and which found small favour except with the Mountain, as the Assembly was evidently disposed to support the Government. But I thought it contained some clever and interesting historical researches, and some sound constitutional views. He took a great exception to the doctrine that the temporal power of the Pope could be considered equally inalienable and eternal with his spiritual authority; adopting the Catholic doctrine, that the Papacy descended direct from our Saviour through St. Peter, he recalled the fact that the temporal endowment of the Pope had only been the work of Charlemagne, and that for eight centuries, or nearly half the Christian Era, in times when the spiritual influence of the Church had not been the lowest, the Pope had only been the first of Bishops, devoted entirely to the exercise of his spiritual authority. I did not hear, even from the acute powers of reasoning of M. Dufaure, any satisfactory answer to M. Jules Favre's argument, that if the Constitution forbids that the Executive power, whether permanent or temporary, shall declare war without the assent of the Assembly, it must have been intended to

withhold the power to take any hostile measure, the inevitable tendency of which is to lead to war ; and that when you send 3000 men to a foreign country, with contingent instructions contemplating the possibility of landing them against the consent of the people of that country, you in fact put the issues of peace or war beyond your control, — a contingency which must have been contemplated by the Government, when, in its instructions to M. de Courcelles, it was stated that the forces should be increased in case of necessity : such necessity could only apply to some unavoidable hostile action, quite independent of the personal safety of the Pope. Nor do I see any satisfactory answer to the questions of M. Jules Favre, as to who is to be the judge of what is necessary for the personal safety of the Pope, if not himself ; and if, when M. de Courcelles is with his Holiness, he should be told, “ I consider the presence of those 3000 men sent for my protection necessary at Rome,” how could M. de Courcelles take upon himself the responsibility of refusing them for the purpose for which they were sent, the troops being within the territory of the Pope ? Were they still in France, the case would be different. No member of the moderate party except M. Montalembert took any part in the discussion.

The order of the day *motivé*, so far as I could hear it amidst much uproar, was to the effect “that the Assembly approves of the precautions taken by the

Government for the personal safety of the Pope, and reserves its opinion upon all the rest of the question." To prove that the Assembly, all devoted as it is to the Government, went as far as they could be induced to go in this vote, the original resolution contained the words "*approuvé complètement*;" but this caused such a murmur of dissent, that the President drew his pen through "*complètement*," and put the question without it. I have little doubt, however, the measure will secure to the General the support of a portion of the Catholic party in France at the ensuing election.

December 2.

I now understand that, in point of fact, the Pope had personally addressed to M. d'Harcourt the appeal for asylum to which M. Bastide had alluded, but that M. d'Harcourt had requested at the same time that no further use might be made of the fact, as it might be injurious to his Holiness. How very much must the immediate benefit of publicity to himself have been pressed upon General Cavaignac, when M. d'Harcourt's caution as to the injury that any publicity might entail upon the Pope, whose interests they professed to protect, was so completely forgotten. As to the other point, it appears the Pope wrote, two months ago, to ask for the formation of a legion of 2000 men, for the defence of order, to be formed out of the old French Municipal Guards, or persons of that description. It will be observed that there was no possible connection between this demand, of a different character and made at a different period, and the assistance now afforded; that the Pope in his letter used the word "Polizia," which was evidently not a purpose to which this expeditionary corps could be applied; that the legion asked for was a mercenary corps, which would entail no future obligations on the Government of France, such as, on the contrary, would not be the case in this expedition, which went in its name and partook of its authority.

5 P. M.

Here is an unexpected turn to-day. News has arrived of the actual flight of the Pope. Nothing as yet can be known further than this, that the telegraphic message mentions the 24th, in the evening, as the time when he left Rome; and as it is dated from Civita Vecchia the 26th, it is evident that cannot be the direction he has taken. This is a fortunate incident for Cavaignac's electioneering prospects. The ridicule which was beginning to be felt as to the character of his expedition may be mitigated by the evidence that it might have had a real object.

Upon M. Bastide communicating to me this telegraphic message, announcing the flight of the Pope, whilst deeply lamenting the nature of the intelligence received, I urged this as a further motive for disembarking the troops at Toulon, and allowing, if they liked, the steamers to depart in search of his Holiness,—as there could now be no occasion for sending forces of a description which could be of no further service to the Pope, but would at once assume a hostile appearance wherever they made a demonstration.*

* And thus, in point of fact, it was ultimately decided; although for two or three days afterwards the suspense was unnecessarily prolonged, it is suspected, by his adversaries, in order that the General might, as far as possible, preserve till after the day of election the credit he had acquired, with a large portion of the community not otherwise favourably disposed towards him, for intentions which he had now completely renounced.

Dec. 3.

It is rather curious, when one remembers the line M. Marrast so powerfully took upon all the questions connected with what is called the "*Partie Prêtre*," when not a year ago he was the principal writer in the "*National*," that he should now be made the medium of offering to the Assembly the thanks of the Apostolic Nuncio for the sympathy shown by France in the fate of his Holiness the Pope. The letters here given were read at the opening of the sitting yesterday:—

"Monsieur le Président,

"La noblesse des sentiments manifestés d'une manière si éclatante par l'Assemblée Nationale, dans la séance d'aujourd'hui, envers la personne du Très-Saint Père, m'a touché jusqu'au fond de l'âme.

"Je veux, Monsieur le Président, faire connaître immédiatement à l'Assemblée, par votre intermédiaire, toute la reconnaissance dont je suis pénétré pour le Gouvernement de la République et pour les dignes représentants de la France, de cette nation qui ne saurait oublier jamais ses généreux instincts et son dévouement traditionnel.

"Veuillez agréer, &c., &c.,

(Signed) "Archevêque de Nicée,

"Nonce Apostolique."

“ Monsieur le Nonce,

“ Je m'empresserai de donner connaissance à l'Assemblée Nationale de la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser.

“ Organe de la Souveraineté du peuple, l'Assemblée a répondu aux sentiments de la nation entière, en faisant éclater les témoignages de sa vive et profonde sympathie pour le Saint Père.

“ La République, qui a le droit de choisir dans les traditions du passé, restera toujours fidèle à celles qui ont montré la France hospitalière à toutes les grandes infortunes, et pleine de vénération et de dévouement pour les plus nobles vertus.

“ Les votes de l'Assemblée Nationale, en légitimant l'initiative prise par le pouvoir exécutif, ont dû vous assurer d'avance, Monsieur le Nonce, que l'illustre Pontife, en entrant dans notre France républicaine et catholique, y trouvera le cortège de tous les respects dûs à sa haute situation, et ces hommages du cœur seront touchants et sincères comme tout ce qu'inspirent la loi et la liberté.

“ Veuillez agréer, &c., &c.

“ Le Président de l'Assemblée Nationale,

“ A. MARRAST.”

Dec. 7.

General Cavaignac, on Saturday the 2nd, read from the tribune a telegraphic message, which, in announcing the escape of the Pope from Rome, concluded by saying positively "Le Pape se rend en France." The General had a less agreeable task to perform yesterday, but he executed it with a simple dignity which seemed the very reverse of any mystification. The Assembly listened therefore with respect, though without interest, to a detail of dates which only seemed to confirm the conviction that, with regard to the whole of the Roman affair, the Government had acted with precipitation upon mistaken information.

The general impression certainly is now that the Pope never intended to come to France, and this is confirmed by his taking the direction of Gaeta. But I have no doubt that the truth is that the Pope did express some desire to come to France privately to M. d'Harcourt, but wished it kept secret, as it might be injurious to him at Rome. There is no mention of the fact in the public despatches, but the exigencies of the moment in connection with General Cavaignac's election caused his friends to give publicity to that which the Pope had required should not be known.

I have been detained till too late to record much of an unexpected debate in the Chamber on the subject of the extraordinary list sent in to a Com-

mission upon National Recompenses by the Ministry of the Interior, containing the names of murderers and assassins, with their interesting families. Of course it was easily proved that the Government had no cognisance of the contents of the list, which had been only transmitted from a sub-commission, in support, however, of a decree they had proposed. Cavaignac defended himself with more warmth than was consistent with self-respect upon such an occasion, and apologised afterwards for having lost his temper. Dufaure, who is generally skilful enough in the tribune, in attempting to prove too much and to include the Administrative Commission in his defence of the Government, exposed himself to a telling reply from Baroche.

Dec. 8.

There was certainly no attempt to consider as confidential any of the communications which had passed between the Pope and the existing head of the French Republic. The following letter, but just received, appears at once in the "Moniteur," and will be in the hands of most of the electors by Sunday next :—

" Monsieur le Général,

" Mon cœur est touché, et je suis pénétré de reconnaissance pour l'élan spontané et généreux de

la fille aînée de l'Église qui se montre empressée et déjà en mouvement pour accourir au secours du Souverain Pontife. L'occasion favorable s'offrira sans doute à moi pour témoigner en personne à la France mes sentiments paternels, et pour pouvoir répandre sur le sol français, de ma propre main, les bénédictions du Seigneur, de même qu'aujourd'hui je le supplie par ma voix de consentir à les répandre en abondance sur vous et sur toute la France.

“ PIUS PAPA NONUS.

“ Datum Cajelæ, die 7 Decembris, 1848.”

Upon my return from the Assembly yesterday, I wrote down my first impression derived from the extraordinary discussion which had just taken place. It happened that I had not had time to look at the newspapers of the morning before going down to the Assembly, therefore I was quite unprepared for the scene which was to follow, when the Minister of the Interior mounted the tribune and announced that the Government withdrew the project of decree proposed by them on the 25th of September, 1848, with reference to “ les récompenses nationales.”

It is perhaps necessary here to explain that the idea of “ les récompenses nationales ” originated in that tendency to job which the Republicans of February seem to have caught at once in the infected atmosphere of the offices to which they had so suddenly succeeded. The proposal was

that the country owed a recompence to all those who "in bad times" had suffered in defence of "le principe républicain;" and this principle once established, a sort of tariff was fixed, by which the amount of reward was to be proportioned to the length of imprisonment. The imprisonment was thus convertible capital, and therefore it is not wonderful that they should not be particular as to the crime for which it was suffered, and should be ready to eke it out with a little theft, assault, or even homicide.

When the proposed law was thus withdrawn, M. La Rochejacquelin rushed to the tribune: "*Et les pièces qui y sont jointes je demande formellement le dépôt aux archives!!*" Some members, supporters of the Ministers: "*Mais comme la loi vient d'être retirée.*" La Rochejacquelin: "*Il l'a retirée parce qu'il a connu l'indignation générale de l'Assemblée.*"

The minister had the imprudence to say, in extreme disregard of his usual parliamentary tact, "*Vous m'avez déclaré que si on retirait le projet, tout était fini,*" showing to all who were most eager to make a popular attack upon the Government that they had succeeded in establishing a law. Cavaignac then, by the extreme irritation of his manner, completed the impression of the success of the attack already made by the imprudent words of his minister; and it is impossible to deny that, doing full justice to the sincerity with which Cavaignac protested against the supposition of any

possible sympathy on his part with thieves and vagabonds, there still remained enough of careless disregard of the ordinary duties of official responsibility in some of the departments under him to make its discovery a most unlucky incident on the eve of an election. The accusation made against himself and colleagues, by those who wished to take the impending occasion to overthrow his Government, was that, whatever their intentions might be, they were mere helpless instruments in the hands of the revolutionary party; and here, at a moment when the financial resources of the country were in apparently hopeless decay, they had proposed a decree conferring a grant of above 50,000*l.*, and annual pensions to about a similar amount, to persons who were found to be unworthy of any reward by the very grounds which were stated as the qualifications for allowing the names to appear in the list. Only let us suppose that in England any minister should propose to put his hand into the public purse for the benefit of individuals, without having taken care to ascertain beforehand that each and every one had established a fair claim to the position which entitled them to remuneration or reward. What an outcry would be raised! But here it is not merely a negative deficiency of qualification, which the list that had passed through the Ministry of the Interior indicated, but disgraceful crime was the stated ground of national favour. We shall hear more of this to-morrow.

Dec. 9.

M. Sénard, the former Minister of the Interior, to-day completely succeeded in proving that he had neglected his duty in recommending the Assembly to pass a decree founded on documents which were within his cognisance, without the slightest inquiry as to how the preparatory examination had been conducted, or who were the worthy objects he proposed for the national bounty.

He gave some details of the early establishment of this Commission, during the period of the Provisional Government, when it had been appointed under the Presidency of Albert *ouvrier*, who had since been tried, condemned, and imprisoned for his own peculiar mode of supporting — “*le principe républicain*.” He was, therefore, not unlikely to have taken rather a different view from the Government which had since found it necessary to imprison him, of the claim which imprisonment conferred; and yet it appears that it had never occurred to either of the successive Ministers of the Interior of General Cavaignac to inquire as to the nature of the offences committed by the parties, whose title to recompense was estimated by the length of their imprisonment.

The remarkably calm and candid manner in which M. Baroche, the President of the Commission, acquitted every one of any possible knowledge of

the contents of these lists was much more effective in damaging the Government than if he had attempted to make an obvious party case of it; for he made it very evident that, but for the happy vigilance of himself and the Commission, a palpable neglect of duty on the part of two Ministries would have saddled the country with the disgrace and the cost of rewarding crime. For, proceeding step by step to prove that these lists were not speculations or vague propositions, but that the amount of money required had been precisely estimated with reference to the length of imprisonment suffered, as he added, for various crimes. "*Par exemple;*" and he read one: "*Dix ans de travaux forcés pour vol en 1810 — trois ans de prison pour attentat à la Religion — condamnation pour pillage de propriété particulière.*" These, he said, were not accidental extracts from registers, but expressly given in to the Government "*pour établir la situation de chacun de ces individus aux droits,*" &c.

Rather a humorous incident occurred. M. Guinard, the President of the Commission after the forced absence of Albert, was anxious to make it very clear that, though he had himself been a political convict, he had not been even a conspirator, much less an assassin; and he said upon these points he appealed to M. Thiers, whose prisoner he had been. Thiers jumping up with a "*demande la parole,*" Guinard professed he had not meant this allusion in any offensive sense.

When Thiers succeeded in getting a hearing, he said with perfect *sang froid* and with characteristic point, "M. Guinard n'a pas été mon prisonnier, il a été le prisonnier de la loi, et quand il a été arrêté, — c'est qu'il devait l'être."

Dec. 10.

When the contest for the election of President first assumed a serious aspect I could hardly believe it possible that the party wielding all the influence of the Government could, in a country like France, be defeated in such an election. That influence has been unscrupulously, if not always skilfully, exercised ; yet the event seems no longer doubtful, and, by all accounts received yesterday, Louis Bonaparte will be returned by a large majority. There have been many vicissitudes in the apparent relative chances during the last week or ten days, though, as it now appears, not to an extent calculated to affect the result. A considerable sensation was produced amongst the religious portion of the community by the special indications of zeal in behalf of the Pope shown by the Government, and a proportionate drawback from that class of the supporters of Louis Napoleon, in consequence of the line taken by his cousin, the Prince

di Canino, at Rome. But when the real object of all these ministerial measures, which had long been avowed in private, became known to the public, they of course lost their effect; and when it was farther ascertained that the Pope never had any present intention of coming to France, the Government found they had excited the most dangerous feeling for themselves on the eve of an election—disappointment founded on deception. To this succeeded, as I have just stated, the production before a Commission of the Assembly of lists of conspirators and assassins, as men thought worthy by a sub-commission appointed by the Provisional Government to share national rewards for their career in the popular cause. The denial on the part of the Government of any previous knowledge of the details of these lists was generally believed by all impartial people. But there always remained an awkward impression produced by these facts, that the decree presented to the Assembly in the month of September was founded upon the researches of this Commission. The sums demanded were based on these recommendations, and the parties indicated in the decree included those who had braved the scaffold. It would have been but common prudence on the part of any executive government, before solemnly proposing rewards to persons whose deeds had placed them in such a category, to have inquired from the Commissioners who were in their service what their

claims were. The excessive, virulence, however, with which this accusation was pushed in the newspapers against the Government had caused a reaction in their favour, when they, unfortunately for themselves, hit upon the unwarrantable expedient of delaying the whole correspondence of the country six hours in order that the evening papers containing the discussion in the Assembly on this subject should arrive simultaneously with those of the morning. This arbitrary act, certainly without precedent when no pressing public interest was concerned, has, I am told, greatly irritated the feelings in the Provinces. It was putting every one to inconvenience, and exposing many to loss, for a purely personal object; and moreover the supplementary information thus diffused was only an explanation, not a justification, and implied no contradiction as to the actual existence of official documents of such a character.

This instance will show that there has been no scruple in pushing to the utmost extent the powers of the Government in behalf of the election of its chief. The failure of an influence generally so omnipotent in France must be attributed to the fact that at no time has there been any general belief in the success of General Cavaignac; and the promises and menaces of the agents of Government of course lose their power under the conviction that those who use them will not remain to execute them. All, however, of ordinary combination seems

to yield to the irresistible desire felt throughout the country to protest, by what appears to them the readiest means, against the form of government which has existed since February. These are the probabilities of the moment, and their immediate causes. I reserve for another day my opinions as to the relative dangers and advantages of the different results which are then possible.

CHAP. XXII.

PROBABLE RESULT OF ELECTION. — GENERAL STATE OF PARTIES IN FRANCE. — LOUIS NAPOLEON'S PROJECTED CABINET. — IGNORANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT AS TO THE STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING. — CONFIDENCE OF CAVAIGNAC IN HIS ELECTION. — HIS CONDUCT UNDER THE REVERSE. — HIS GENERAL CHARACTER RESPECTED. — FATE OF LAMARTINE. — HIS ILL-TIMED SILENCE. — ABSENCE OF LEADING NAMES FROM THE NEW CABINET. — ANTICIPATED COUNTER-DEMONSTRATION OF THE REPUBLICANS. — RESIGNATION OF GENERAL CAVAIGNAC. — INSTALLATION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AS PRESIDENT. — ODILON BARROT CHARGED WITH THE FORMATION OF A NEW CABINET. — LOUIS NAPOLEON AND CAVAIGNAC IN THE ASSEMBLY; CHARACTERISTIC INCIDENT. — ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PROCLAMATION. — PROCEEDINGS IN THE ASSEMBLY. — OFFICIAL RETURN OF THE ELECTION. — RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR. — PRESENT POSITION OF LATE LEADERS.

Dec. 12.

THE probable result of the election, at this moment in progress, has now for some days been foreseen; and one may enter here, in the character of a retrospect, into a comparison of dangers and advantages from the success of the different candidates, which, up to the last moment, appeared possible, to those most interested in the result.

I have always thought that the best result, with a view to immediate prospects, both at home and abroad, would have been that General Cavaignac should be returned by a majority of the votes of the people confirmed by the decision of the

Assembly. But the moment it was evident the universal spirit of the country put this out of the question, there can be no doubt the next best thing is that his competitor should be returned by as large a majority as possible. The most certain provocation to civil war, no doubt, would be that General Cavaignac, rejected by the universal suffrage which the Revolution created, should be imposed upon the country by an Assembly long deprived of all influence, and which, in assuming such a power, would be exceeding its functions after it had outlived its term. I must further make this qualification of my opinion expressed, that, upon the whole, the nomination of the General by the people would have been the best result, — I mean provided that choice could have presented him as the champion of order, as three months back they recognised him to be, and as I believe he sincerely desires to be considered, provided that order is compatible with the triumph of Republican principles, to which he has a fanatical devotion, increasing in proportion as he sees they are more likely to lead to martyrdom than to victory. The question is not now between him and the anarchists, but between him and the great body of the moderate party. His success would have now been treated by his supporters as a proof of the preponderance of Republican principles, and hailed as a Godsend; whilst they would again have claimed from him the monopoly of public

employments for their clique, the most corrupt, incapable, and arbitrary that ever attempted to govern a great country. I am firmly persuaded of General Cavaignac's personal inclination to struggle against such an assumption, but knowing both parties, I have very little doubt that his struggle would have been too ineffective to prevent his shortly becoming their tool. On the other hand, the position of the moderate party is indeed most extraordinary: one regrets to see them forced by circumstances to pursue a line of conduct which not only requires explanation, but which, after that explanation, still leaves their motives in question and their prospects in doubt. History affords no parallel to this spectacle of all the eminent men of all former political parties, uniting in support of a man whom no one of them would personally have selected. They, in fact, follow, whilst they assume to direct, a popular impulse which they could not resist. The memory of the Emperor Napoleon is no doubt a master spell in this impulse; but the hatred to the Republic gives another signification to the name of Bonaparte, and the traditional recollection that it was by his means the last Republic was destroyed in France, gives double force to this mode of protestation. One must recollect, in justification of the moderate party, that they were very desirous to see if a little interval of time might not give a more natural direction, perhaps a more gradual

development, to the anti-Republican feeling of the country; and they urged most earnestly upon the Assembly the adjournment of the election. In this, General Cavaignac thought he perceived an attempt to promote the success of some apparently more formidable candidate than he then considered Louis Napoleon; and he threatened to resign the provisional power with which he was entrusted, in case the adjournment of the election was carried: this threat prevailed, and his present defeat is the consequence of that determination. The decision of the Assembly once taken, the moderate party had no other resource than to endeavour, whilst associating themselves with the popular enthusiasm, to make a useful instrument of its idol. This plan has been followed up with much success. Louis Napoleon has placed himself entirely in their hands, and, except in one instance, has acted uniformly by their advice. His address was evidently entirely his own, but the sentiments it expressed were generally approved. He separated himself from all doubtful connexions, and has, upon the few occasions in which he has been called upon in society to take any part, acquitted himself with sound discretion. His great anxiety seems to be to remove from foreign countries that uneasiness as to international relations which his name is calculated to excite, by repeated declarations of a firm determination to preserve peace.

Such is at this moment the position of affairs:

it would be impossible not to feel that it presents a future which must be watched with extreme anxiety. The exaggerated expectations of those who are conferring present power, and the bitter disappointment of that desperate faction who are losing it, contain but too many elements for violent collision and possible confusion. But though it is understood that some of the leading statesmen resolutely refuse to take office themselves, the departments will be placed in competent and judicious hands; and my personal relations with the individuals I have heard named, and from whom the selection will be made, give me every facility for maintaining that good understanding between the two countries, to which I am happy to think no party here is at present indifferent.

A decision has, I hear, been taken to-day, in the Assembly, not to wait for the proclamation of the President until after the report of the votes taken in Algiers, provided either of the candidates should possess such a majority as all the votes taken from thence could not reverse. I hear the debate was stormy, but I was not present. The decision is useful, as tending to terminate the provisional state, for the majority will be incalculably greater than the whole population of Algiers. The last reports state that the majority in favour of the Prince will be beyond all expectation. Even in Paris it will be large; and here, until yesterday, it was expected to be rather on the side of General

Cavaignac. Indeed, it was only ten days since M. Armand Marrast declared, before several of the *corps diplomatique*, that, supported by a metropolitan majority, and the authority of the Chambers, they were determined to resist any numerical superiority in the rest of the country. Whatever trials may yet be reserved for this distracted country, whatever disappointment may emanate from this very decision, every friend of order must hail it with satisfaction, at least in the one sense which at this moment it emphatically asserts—the protest of a great people against the usurpation of a tyrant minority, and against the triumph of principles more or less countenanced or tolerated by every government since February,—principles which are subversive of all regular authority, and must undermine the very foundations of society itself.

I had a long and interesting conversation with Molé yesterday. He tells me that much is done by Louis Napoleon under his advice and that of Thiers, though they will not take office themselves, and therefore, of course, find many difficulties in persuading others to do so. He told me, in confidence, that the probable arrangements at present were,—Odilon Barrot, Minister of Justice; Léon de Malleville, Interior; Drouyn de l'Huys, Foreign Affairs; Achille Fould, Finances; Léon Faucher, Public Works. Public Instruction, not yet decided. They had tried to get De Falloux, an excellent choice, and a Legitimist, by way of conci-

liating that party, but as yet he had declined to accept office. It appears that the War Office will be given to Oudinot, as Changarnier is thought more useful, retaining the united command of all the National Guards and of the garrison of Paris.

Molé said they did not intend to put any "Républicains de la veille" into the Cabinet; but the present idea was to propose a list of the three Vice-Presidents from that category. It was thought the President might give the Assembly to choose between Arago, Lamartine, and perhaps Cavaignac himself. The only objection which occurred to me (but which I did not state), to this otherwise becoming arrangement, is, that it was offering to the Republicans a great premium upon the assassination of the President, when all the power of the country would then be secured to them until arrangements could be made for a new election. Of course, the three whose names are mentioned would signally punish any such act, but their demagogues would not the less expect to profit by it.

Dec. 14.

I have little to add to my former account of the election, except that the majority in favour of Louis

Napoleon Bonaparte will far exceed all previous speculation. This is fortunate, inasmuch as it prevents the possibility, at present, of any physical contest on the part of the minority. Fifty thousand will not choose the moment to rise in arms when the voices of five millions recorded against them are still ringing in their ears. The despondency of the whole of the moderate Republican party is, I am told, extreme. They were not prepared for so striking a protest against their principles and their persons. The language of General Cavaignac is very praiseworthy, expressive of complete submission to the national will; and the majority of the Assembly are said to feel that it is impossible, in face of such a warning, that they can persist in continuing their existence as they had intended. It would be very short sighted not to see difficulties and dangers of every kind still to be encountered; but, certainly, if the new Government know how to use the moment; the support with which they enter upon the task is almost unexampled, and the first effect of this conviction has been a renewal of public confidence. The Funds have risen in a remarkable manner, and the general aspect of the capital is that of satisfaction, not un-mixed with astonishment at the facility with which they could shake off all those fears which, in ignorant distrust of their own strength, had paralysed all their energies for the last ten months.

The result of the election being thus beyond doubt, we have begun to hear discussions on the new ministerial arrangements, which are not yet completed. There were many modifications made yesterday, and, as is always the case upon these occasions, first intentions were much changed in deference to personal exigences. Some of the appointments will be only provisional until after the election of the new Assembly. Thiers still persists in refusing office for the present, but was very much inclined yesterday to accept the embassy to London, which he was offered. His friends, however, persuaded him that he could not be spared from home at this moment. In the list which I was shown, in confidence, from authority, last night, the offices which seemed finally settled were, Odilon Barrot, Justice; Léon de Malleville, Interior; Passy, Finances; Achille Fould, Commerce; Léon Faucher, Public Works; and De Falloux, Public Instruction; he had at first refused office, but was persuaded to accept this. He is a clever, upright man, and will give the Government much strength with the Clergy and the Legitimists. Arago was on the list for the Marine, as a sop to the Republicans, though I take it he is almost cured on that head. General Rulhières, who is to have the War Department, is highly spoken of. He was one of the Generals placed on the retired list by the Provisional Government. There is likely to be a change in the original intention as to the Foreign

Office. M. Passy, whom it was thought important to get for Finance, insisted upon having his friend, De Tracy, in the Cabinet, who is a distinguished man in many respects, but, I do not think, very practical. He wishes, if in office at all, for the Foreign Department, and he has this qualification for a good understanding with us, that he has always held the language of "Paix à tout prix." Should this arrangement take place, Drouyn de l'Huys would then go to London with the title of Ambassador. He has been President of the Committee on Foreign Affairs ever since the meeting of the Assembly, and contributed to the unanimous decision of that Committee when they decided on keeping up an embassy in England, upon the proposition of Cavaignac. He has a large private fortune, and would therefore be able to maintain his position, even if the income should be reduced. His wife is a very pretty agreeable woman, and altogether this arrangement would be likely to do very well in London.

Dec. 20.

The official declaration of the Members who have voted in the presidential election will not be made, at soonest, before the end of the week; but enough has transpired to show that the majority

in favour of Louis Napoleon will be overwhelming beyond any previous calculation. There is nothing more extraordinary in the whole affair, than the profound ignorance as to the state of public feeling in which the Government agents remained up to the last moment. It was but two days before the election that General Cavaignac assured me, with all apparent sincerity, that his election was placed beyond a doubt. Upon my shaking my head, and saying that it was very strange that every one else told me so different a story, that I could not but think he must be deceived, he good-humouredly objected, "C'est, milord, que vous n'avez pas la foi Républicaine." "C'est vrai, mon cher Général, cela me manque complètement." It is supposed to be mortification at the number of persons to whom he had imparted this singularly mistaken confidence that has induced him to refuse to receive any one during the last few days, though he continues to appear in the Chamber, where his deportment is always very becoming. During the four months of his power, he has certainly done much good, though he has committed many faults. His merits have been all his own, whilst his errors have arisen from bad advice; but the danger from these errors has been much increased by the defects of his character: he has never shown much steadiness of purpose. It is now some months since I had occasion to record, as the result of my personal observation, that General Cavaignac was one of those

who attempted to cover a constitutional irresolution of mind under an assumed stern demeanour. In spite, however, of some instances of an arbitrary disposition, which the newness of his position and the difficulties of his career may excuse, General Cavaignac certainly leaves office with the personal respect of his political opponents, and there has been a patriotic disinterestedness in his general conduct, which must always secure him a favourable position in the list of ephemeral notabilities of this changeful scene.

Before closing my review of the present position of those public men whose career is mainly connected with the first revolutionary period, now about to terminate, it seems impossible to pass entirely without notice the fate of Lamartine, who, in the month of April, as his flatterers daily repeated to him, counted his suffrages by millions, and who now, in the whole of the Department of the Seine, where his name was then at the head of the poll, does not now number *four thousand* votes!

I mentioned at the time, that when Lamartine, with that unreserve with which he was in the habit of communicating with me, declared his intention, upon the meeting of the Assembly, not to separate himself from M. Ledru-Rollin, I had told him I thought he would thereby entirely lose the position he held as the champion of order; he agreed with me that such would be the immediate effect,

but said he should recover everything again in three weeks. I in vain endeavoured to persuade him that no one ever fell from such an eminence and regained it again in a few days, least of all in times of revolution. Since then he has had but one great occasion to recover himself—the discussion upon the events of June. This was delayed for his arrival at Paris: he was supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with all its secret history, and he had been loud and unmeasured in his abuse of General Cavaignac. When M. Garnier-Pagès descended from the tribune, he said to M. Lamartine across several other members, “Now, if you do not speak, you are ruined as a public man.” And yet he had neither the moral courage to maintain the cause of his friends against an adverse auditory, if he thought their accusations just; nor the magnanimity to make a recantation of his previous censure, if he thought General Cavaignac’s defence complete.* He in silence abstained even from voting on the question, and yet, in the face of the unfavourable impression thus produced, he preserved

* Such was my impression at the time, and even upon reflection, I cannot account for this unexpected silence on the part of Lamartine, whose impulses are generous and whose courage is undoubted. It was one of those moments, which every one accustomed to parliamentary life has experienced, when a variety of unknown motives combine to produce an unfortunate suppression of speech. The occasion thus neglected is perhaps never retrieved. The instances are not less numerous of opportunities lost, than of imprudence committed or triumphs achieved.

to the last the vain illusion that he should have sufficient votes for the Presidency to enable the Assembly to elect him as the most peaceable solution of the question. It is not the least singular reflection, that at this moment, when power is passing from the hands of those who, under different denominations, have held it since February, there is hardly one other individual whose qualities either for good or for evil, deserve one word of separate notice. M. Bastide, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is one exception; without any brilliant talents, he has risen in difficult circumstances, and, by his firm good sense and his honesty of purpose, has conciliated the esteem of the whole Corps Diplomatique, by whom he will be deservedly regretted.

The delay which has necessarily taken place in the proclamation of the new President has operated unfavourably in the appreciation of the new Cabinet, which is so long held up for judgment after its first premature announcement. There is nothing in its composition to gratify public expectation. The first impression is the absence of so many leading names which it was supposed would be included; and the next stage, for which, unfortunately, there has been ample time, has been to criticise the relative merits of those who have been named, and to find out how many others of the same calibre there are who might have been substituted. Those actually named are, however, all

men of good character, some experience, and fair abilities; and if they realise the title which their chief, M. Odilon Barrot, assumes for them, "Le Ministère des honnêtes gens," they will only follow the example which all admit he has himself uniformly displayed; for, with all the mistakes of his political career, there never has been a suspicion of the purity of his motives, and the uprightness of his conduct.

The fall in the Funds was attributed by many to the fear of some disturbance on the occasion of the proclamation of the President. It was thought that many thousands of the lower classes, from the faubourgs and the banlieues, would assemble to the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" and that then the Red Republicans might seize that opportunity to make a counter-demonstration, and, under such circumstances, might be joined by some who now see no permanence for Republican institutions but through the action of terror in the capital. The information conveyed to General Changarnier on this subject was such as to cause some uneasiness; but precautions are taken, and I cannot myself believe that a party so disappointed as the violent Republicans now are, would take so early an opportunity for measuring their force against such overwhelming numbers.

Whilst I was thus recording the casual alarms of the moment, I received a confidential intimation from M. Bastide, that it had been determined to

avoid the dangers of a demonstration which was preparing for the day when the President of the Republic should be proclaimed, and to advance the ceremony by dispensing with the formality of some of the distant returns, which could not affect the result ; and, in consequence, it had been arranged with the future President, that his installation should take place this afternoon, at four o'clock, without previous notice being given to any except those whose presence was necessary. I therefore went at once to the Assembly with M. Bastide. Some troops had been collected, but there was hardly more than the usual crowd in the Place de la Concorde. All passed off very well. After a tedious report from the Commission, General Cavaignac resigned his temporary power in a few appropriate words, which were much applauded. The President, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, took the oath to the Constitution, was presented, and then read a short address, which was well imagined, and favourably received.

After his departure, M. Marrast read a message from him, stating that he had charged M. Odilon Barrot with the formation of a new Cabinet. The President has since been conveyed to the Palace of the Elysée-Bourbon, destined for the Presidential residence ; and I have just met General Changarnier and his état-major returning from thence.

The crowd is collecting on one side but is dispersing on the other, as they hear that all is over ;

and I have reason to believe that the whole affair will pass off peaceably and quietly.

I may as well add that Cavaignac got very well through all the first part of the ceremony, but when Louis Napoleon, after descending from the tribune, walked up to the back bench, where the General had retired, and, in the most becoming manner, held out his hand to him, Cavaignac took it, but never got up, and turned away his head to his next neighbour. It was one of those moments when a bad temper is a man's worst enemy, for all remarked and regretted it. Certainly the Prince's whole deportment has at all times been as good as possible, and there is a calm, quiet "*impassibilité*" about him which is very rare in a Frenchman. There was much gentle kindness and no ostentation in the manner in which he approached Cavaignac, which contrasted favourably with the rudeness of the other. However, one must make allowance for the difference of the position of the two men. It is easier to be generous in success than to be complaisant under extinction; and the result has been nothing less to Cavaignac and all his party. Tocqueville, rather quaintly, said to me yesterday, "There only remains now one question, whether it is the Republicans or the Republic itself which the country cannot abide."

Dec. 21.

The arrangements of Changarnier, yesterday, were admirable. The outgoing Government had confided to him, from the morning, the command of the whole garrison, which he was to keep to the end of the day. At three o'clock not a word was known publicly of what was to happen, and not a soldier was to be seen; and at half-past three, from six to eight thousand men found themselves at the same moment covering the Place de la Concorde, and guarding all the approaches to the Chamber.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Drouyn de l'Huys, explained to me, in conversation, that the President and his Councillors were completely passive in the affair of the sudden and unexpected proclamation of the result of the election.

The outgoing Government being responsible for the tranquillity of the capital, had received reports which they said induced them to fear demonstrations of a conflicting character, should the ceremony not take place before the day when it was generally expected. Prince Louis Napoleon, and those who were already his confidential advisers, had no means of ascertaining the accuracy of these alarming reports, and therefore, as in duty bound, they placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the then existing Government as to the period of the proclamation.

[And, in point of fact, with this ceremony was abruptly terminated the "Year of Revolution;" this, as it accidentally happens, just 365 days after I commenced the first of these entries, upon my return from England. The remaining ten days of that which will ever have a revolutionary celebrity in the calendar as the year 1848, were principally occupied by me in speculation as to the future, and more naturally belong to the annals of the next three years, but which are not as yet food for history. I therefore omit the remaining series of daily remarks, with the exception of that review of the "*personnel du passé*" which follows with the date 31st of December.

There are some scattered remarks which may be extracted with reference to the concluding week of this eventful year. I was peculiarly struck by the profound repose and apathy with which the government of a Republic so recently founded with the general assent passed into the hands of those who were known to bear it no good will. In England, the fall of a great party, even though it should be a decided minority in the country, would be followed by every variety of popular demonstration towards its late chiefs. I called more than once, without success, during the next few days, at the modest lodging to which General Cavaignac had retired. And although situated in a busy part of the town, I never saw the slightest symptom of his solitude being disturbed. It is right to say that this retirement was self-sought, and that

from praiseworthy motives he was desirous to avoid attention. Sure there are feelings which eager partizans do not always respect; and I could not but recollect that at his very last reception in the Rue de Varennes, when the result of the election was still doubtful, not only was every room through his spacious apartment thronged to suffocation, but the crowd extended to the courtyard, and the General was obliged to go to the entrance door to receive some of his visitors. If the General, with dignified resignation, accepted his present isolation, none could say that his great competitor showed the least symptom of being in the slightest degree upset by his elevation. The calm repose of manner with which he went through all the novel duties of such a position, would have been very remarkable anywhere, and was without example in France. It seemed to show to every one such a composed consciousness that he was in his place, that those who had combined to put him there began to doubt whether they had had any hand in his electoral triumph, and, at any rate, perceived at once that he would never consent to be made their blind instrument. The precise causes of the resignation of his first Minister of the Interior, at the end of a week, were not generally known, and need not now be investigated. It is sufficient to say that he could not be expected to yield on a question of personal dignity to those who had perhaps made, in his behalf, too ostentatious a dis-

play of protecting patronage. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the resignation arose from any desire on the part of the Prince President to obliterate all traces of his former career. He never had any morbid reserve on these subjects, and it was less likely that he should entertain such feelings at a moment which seemed so signally to justify anticipations of success on former occasions, which had been previously deemed chimerical.

I recorded, during the last days of December, that one of the first guests at a breakfast at the Elysée was the curé of the fortress at Ham, who had been the Prince's spiritual director as well as one of his principal social resources during his imprisonment; and at the same breakfast was likewise present the faithful dog who had been his more constant companion, and, most unwittingly, had nearly destroyed his master's chance of escape. I premise that I never was at Ham, and have no personal acquaintance with the locality, but repeat the story as it was told, at the time, to me:—"The Prince, disguised as one of the file of workmen going forth to their dinner, had passed the drawbridge, when the director, whose duty it was to examine them in passing, caught his eye, and turned to interrogate the foreman as to his identity, when his attention was diverted by some defect in a work then in progress. Whilst his inquiries in reference to this were going on, the

line of workmen passed out and the Prince amongst them. He then took a separate direction, which had been before arranged, to the summit of a bare acclivity. Casting his eye around, he saw that his dog, which had been shut up to prevent the chance of betrayal, had made his escape, had caught sight of him, known him in spite of his disguise, and was bounding and careering after him at full speed, little aware how fatal, at such a moment, would be any habitual demonstration of his affection. Had the Prince hurried his pace whilst yet in sight, that very act would probably have caused instant suspicion. With what intense anxiety had he therefore to calculate the possibility of passing the brow of the hill before this unconscious cause of danger reached him. The intermediate summit of the undulating ground was already behind him, and just concealed him from the fortress, when the delighted animal jumped upon his shoulder and was welcomed in safety, and I understand has never since left him." How much of future political destiny, perhaps, hung upon the comparative speed at which the dog and his master had passed the intervening distance.

The first occasion, after his election, on which the Prince showed himself to the Parisians was a visit to the Grand Opera, not in state, but publicly announced; here his reception was that of a cordial welcome, though not an enthusiastic ovation. "At the review of the Garrison and the National

Guard he showed himself to great advantage on horseback. It was a saying, that the great objection with the French people to Louis XVIII. was, that he could not ride on horseback. Charles X. mounted his charger to perfection, an accomplishment shared by the Prince President." It is supposed that every man in the course of his life has one horse which he feels more than any other is part of himself; and on this occasion Louis Napoleon mounted, with ease and grace, a favourite horse well known to all his English friends.]

Dec. 22.

Here is the complete official return of the result of the Election.

Suffrages exprimés	-	7,426,252.
Louis Napoléon	- -	5,534,520.
Général Cavaignac	- -	1,448,302.
Ledru-Rollin	- - -	371,431.
Raspail	- - -	36,964.
Lamartine	- - -	17,914.
Général Changarnier	-	4,687.
Voix perdues	- -	12,434.
Bulletins inconstitutionnels		23,219.

Dec. 31.

The thirty-first of December. It seems hardly possible that twelve months only should have elapsed since the corresponding date of last year; and that this should be the first anniversary of the death of Madame Adelaide; in recording which occurrence I said, the "year ended with an event of evil omen to the House of Orleans." Before two months had elapsed, this foreboding was for that House too fully realised, and all connexion of every member of that royal race with the land of their birth was as completely closed as was the earthly existence of the wise Princess whose sagacious counsels they had missed, at a most critical moment, and whose loss they had so recently mourned.

But if the year just past sufficed to destroy that which it found established, it has not been the less effectual in obliterating and effacing the reputations of which it witnessed the creation. It may be as well to take this occasion to say a few words as to the present position, with reference to each other and to the country, of those men who for some months exercised such uncontrolled sway over the destinies of France.

The last day of the year finds all the members of the Provisional Government of France restored

to that political insignificance which was their portion at its opening. There were amongst its members some names certainly not unknown to fame, but rather as writers, astronomers, or poets, than as statesmen. And yet, although the very day before, these eleven men proclaimed themselves to the world as exercising all the powers of government, hardly one of them, I am convinced, could have believed such an elevation possible; and although to any one else such a government must have appeared almost beyond the eccentric bounds of a bad dream, yet at once, and without question, throughout the length and breadth of France, that usurpation met with universal acquiescence; for usurpation it was, on the part of all the eleven, though more inexplicably so on the part of the last four—Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert,—who were allowed to add their own names without the pretence of a public nomination. But even the “original Provisional Government” as they proclaimed themselves in the “*Moniteur*,” had no other title to that denomination but that their names had been read aloud to a few hundreds of the armed *canaille* of Paris in that Legislative Hall from which they had just expelled its recognised members. During three months did these discordant materials assume in unity to govern France, through an alternation of unprincipled compromises.

It is therefore worthy of remark, since they are

no longer bound together by official connexion, into what a number of irreconcilable fractions the eleven members of the Provisional Government are now divided. Albert, "ouvrier," at Vincennes, and Louis Blanc an exile in England, are quite out of any possible political combination; M. Ledru-Rollin, and perhaps with him M. Flocon, hold themselves equally estranged from their former colleagues. M. Lamartine, after his second separation from M. Ledru-Rollin, has formed no fresh alliances; and let us trust that we may next hear of him in those higher realms of genius where he may well boast that he soars alone. M. Garnier-Pagès, who has one quality in perfection—great personal resolution,—has quarrelled with everyone, as has also M. Crémieux, with this distinction—that the latter is said to be ready at any moment to be reconciled to any one, if he sees it to his advantage. M. Arago is said to regret much the part he has played during the year; and, if his family will permit him, is determined to take no further part in politics, but to devote himself again to the cultivation of his own peculiar field of distinction. M. Marie, a barrister in good practice, a respectable man, of fair abilities, and gentle pleasing manners, remained a member of the last Government, and may equally, without particular notice, belong again to any future one. M. Dupont de l'Eure, that galvanized souvenir of the Convention, was not, for

the moment, without a modifying influence, more in accord with his age than his antecedents, but it cannot be necessary to speculate upon his future. M. Marrast, the President of the Assembly, has contrived, by his social pretensions, to accumulate more personal unpopularity, with, however, less political discredit, than any of his colleagues. He has managed to keep out of the direct conduct of affairs himself, whilst, in his character of principal proprietor and *rédacteur en chef* of the "National," he has appropriated to those who may be called his creatures, all the good things of the state since February. A list was published, not long since, by which it is proved that eleven *rédacteurs* of this paper have received Government employment, and that, counting their recognised establishment of doctors in ordinary, bankers, counsel, and shorthand writers, all in the pay of that paper, it has furnished thirty-one placemen, eleven holding the highest offices of the state, who, but for their connexion with the bureau of the "National," would probably have been "born to blush unseen." By the list given in the "Évènement," it appears that M. Marrast's personal predilections had as free scope as his political protection, as the list of public employments conferred since February contains the names of three Marrasts, two brothers and a nephew. It was not merely that these purists in print were found much to surpass those they

had supplanted in the art of jobbing, but these acute daily critics of the mistakes of others turned out in practice the most incapable of all the agents into whose hands power had ever fallen. Cavaignac's connexion with the "National" newspaper was rather that of family recollection than of personal action; but it still operated disadvantageously for him with all those who were indignant at so unjustifiable a monopoly of power. His future must now depend upon the position which he has made for himself whilst holding office. It is not one from which he might not recover himself; for, stunning as has been his recent fall, the impression he has left upon all who came in personal contact with him is much in his favour. Whether in the splendid hotel in the Rue de Varennes, receiving with simple dignity his Republican courtiers, or, with equally calm submission to the popular will, returning to his modest lodging, his bearing has been that of a truly honest man, who meant to do right. His republicanism is more a constitutional creed—a faith he has inherited—than a result of reason; but it is blended with affectionate respect for the memory of his brother, and with the active exercise of his filial duties towards his mother, a fine old lady of strong sense, but still stronger Republican predilections. I should therefore be sorry to see the General, whom I sincerely esteem, placed in a position where his political

fanaticism, sustained by such a complication of good impulses, might make him an instrument in the hands of the extreme party, and induce him to adopt their system, as the only means by which a Republican minority could govern France. May the occasion never again arise to test the result!

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

APPENDIX.

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

Liberté! Égalité! Fraternité!

CONSTITUTION DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANÇAIS.

L'Assemblée nationale a adopté,

Et, conformément à l'art. 6 du décret du 28 octobre 1848*, le président de l'Assemblée nationale promulgue la constitution dont la teneur suit :

* *Art. 6 du décret du 28 octobre 1848.*

Aussitôt après qu'il aura été proclamé par l'Assemblée nationale, le président de la République exercera les pouvoirs qui lui sont conférés par la constitution, à l'exception toutefois des droits qui lui sont attribués par les art. 55, 56, 57 et 58, le droit de promulgation étant réservé au président de l'Assemblée nationale.

L'Assemblée nationale constituante conservera, jusqu'à l'installation de la prochaine Assemblée législative, tous les pouvoirs dont elle est saisie aujourd'hui, sauf le pouvoir exécutif confié au président, qu'elle ne pourrait, en aucun cas, révoquer.

La durée des fonctions du président de la République sera, pour cette fois seulement, diminuée du nombre de mois nécessaire pour que l'élection subséquente ait lieu le deuxième dimanche de mai.

En présence de Dieu, et au nom du peuple français, l'Assemblée nationale proclame :

I.

La France s'est constituée en République. En adoptant cette forme définitive de gouvernement, elle s'est proposé pour but de marcher plus librement dans la voie du progrès et de la civilisation, d'assurer une répartition de plus en plus équitable des charges et des avantages de la société, *d'augmenter* l'aisance de chacun par la réduction graduée des dépenses publiques et des impôts, et de faire parvenir tous les citoyens, sans nouvelle commotion, par l'action successive et constante des institutions et des lois, à un degré toujours plus élevé de moralité, de lumières et de bien-être.

II.

La République française est démocratique, une et indivisible.

III.

Elle reconnaît des droits et des devoirs antérieurs et supérieurs aux lois positives.

IV.

Elle a pour principes la Liberté, l'Égalité et la Fraternité.

Elle a pour bases la famille, le travail, la propriété, l'ordre public.

V.

Elle respecte les nationalités étrangères, comme elle entend faire respecter la sienne ; n'entreprend aucune guerre dans des vues de conquête, et n'emploie jamais ses forces contre la liberté d'aucun peuple.

VI.

Des devoirs réciproques obligent les citoyens envers la République, et la République envers les citoyens.

VII.

Les citoyens doivent aimer la patrie, servir la République, la défendre au prix de leur vie, participer aux charges de l'État en proportion de leur fortune ; ils doivent s'assurer, par le travail, des moyens d'existence, et, par la prévoyance, des ressources pour l'avenir ; ils doivent concourir au bien-être commun en s'entraidant fraternellement les uns les autres, et à l'ordre général en observant les lois morales et les lois écrites qui régissent la société, la famille et l'individu.

VIII.

La République doit protéger le citoyen dans sa personne, sa famille, sa religion, sa propriété, son travail, et mettre à la portée de chacun l'instruction indispensable à tous les hommes ; elle doit, par une assistance fraternelle, assurer l'existence des citoyens nécessiteux, soit en leur procurant du travail dans les limites de ses ressources, soit en donnant, à défaut de la famille, des secours à ceux qui sont hors d'état de travailler.

En vue de l'accomplissement de tous ces devoirs, et pour la garantie de tous ces droits, l'Assemblée nationale, fidèle aux traditions des grandes assemblées qui ont inauguré la révolution française, décrète ainsi qu'il suit la constitution de la République.

CONSTITUTION.

CHAPITRE I.

De la souveraineté.

Art. 1. La souveraineté réside dans l'universalité des citoyens français.

Elle est inaliénable et imprescriptible.

Aucun individu, aucune fraction du peuple ne peut s'en attribuer l'exercice.

CHAPITRE II.

Droits des citoyens garantis par la constitution.

Art. 2. Nul ne peut être arrêté ou détenu que suivant les prescriptions de la loi.

Art. 3. La demeure de toute personne habitant le territoire français est inviolable; il n'est permis d'y pénétrer que selon les formes et dans les cas prévus par la loi.

Art. 4. Nul ne sera distrait de ses juges naturels.

Il ne pourra être créé de commissions et de tribunaux extraordinaires, à quelque titre et sous quelque dénomination que ce soit.

Art. 5. La peine de mort est abolie en matière politique.

Art. 6. L'esclavage ne peut exister sur aucune terre française.

Art. 7. Chacun professe librement sa religion et reçoit de l'État, pour l'exercice de son culte, une égale protection.

Les ministres, soit des cultes actuellement reconnus par la loi, soit de ceux qui seraient reconnus à l'avenir, ont le droit de recevoir un traitement de l'État.

Art. 8. Les citoyens ont le droit de s'associer, de s'assembler paisiblement et sans armes, de pétitionner, de manifester leurs pensées par la voie de la presse ou autrement.

L'exercice de ces droits n'a pour limites que les droits ou la liberté d'autrui et la sécurité publique.

La presse ne peut, en aucun cas, être soumise à la censure.

Art. 9. L'enseignement est libre.

La liberté d'enseignement s'exerce selon les conditions de capacité et de moralité déterminées par les lois, et sous la surveillance de l'État.

Cette surveillance s'étend à tous les établissements d'éducation et d'enseignement, sans aucune exception.—

Art. 10. Tous les citoyens sont également admissibles à tous les emplois publics, sans autre motif de préférence que leur mérite, et suivant les conditions qui seront fixées par les lois.

Sont abolis à toujours tout titre nobiliaire, toute distinction de naissance, de classe ou de caste.

Art. 11. Toutes les propriétés sont inviolables. Néanmoins l'État peut exiger le sacrifice d'une propriété pour cause d'utilité publique légalement constatée, et moyennant une juste et préalable indemnité.

Art. 12. La confiscation des biens ne pourra jamais être rétablie.

Art. 13. La constitution garantit aux citoyens la liberté du travail et de l'industrie.

La société favorise et encourage le développement du travail par l'enseignement primaire gratuit, l'éducation professionnelle, l'égalité de rapports entre le patron et l'ouvrier, les institutions de prévoyance et de crédit, les institutions agricoles, les associations volontaires et l'éta-

blissement, par l'État, les départements et les communes, de travaux publics propres à employer les bras inoccupés; elle fournit l'assistance aux enfants abandonnés, aux infirmes et aux vieillards sans ressources, et que leurs familles ne peuvent secourir.

Art. 14. La dette publique est garantie.

Toute espèce d'engagement pris par l'État avec ses créanciers est inviolable.

Art. 15. Tout impôt est établi pour l'utilité commune.

Chacun y contribue en proportion de ses facultés et de sa fortune.

Art. 16. Aucun impôt ne peut être établi ni perçu qu'en vertu de la loi.

Art. 17. L'impôt direct n'est consenti que pour un an.

Les impositions indirectes peuvent être consenties pour plusieurs années.

CHAPITRE III.

Des pouvoirs publics.

Art. 18. Tous les pouvoirs publics, quels qu'ils soient, émanent du peuple.

Ils ne peuvent être délégués héréditairement.

Art. 19. La séparation des pouvoirs est la première condition d'un gouvernement libre.

CHAPITRE IV.

Du pouvoir législatif.

Art. 20. Le peuple français délègue le pouvoir législatif à une assemblée unique.

Art. 21. Le nombre total des représentants du peuple sera de sept cent cinquante, y compris les représentants de l'Algérie et des colonies françaises.

Art. 22. Ce nombre s'élèvera à neuf cents pour les assemblées qui seront appelées à reviser la constitution.

Art. 23. L'élection a pour base la population.

Art. 24. Le suffrage est direct et universel. Le scrutin est secret.

Art. 25. Sont électeurs, *sans condition de cens*, tous les Français âgés de vingt et un ans, et jouissant de leurs droits civils et politiques.

Art. 26. Sont éligibles, *sans condition de domicile*, tous les *électeurs* âgés de vingt-cinq ans.

Art. 27. La loi électorale déterminera les causes qui peuvent priver un citoyen français du droit d'élire et d'être élu.

Elle désignera les citoyens qui, exerçant ou ayant exercé des fonctions dans un département ou un ressort territorial, ne pourront y être élus.

Art. 28. Toute fonction publique rétribuée est incompatible avec le mandat de représentant du peuple.

Aucun membre de l'Assemblée nationale ne peut, pendant la durée de la législature, être nommé ou promu à des fonctions publiques salariées dont les titulaires sont choisis à volonté par le pouvoir exécutif.

Les exceptions aux dispositions des deux paragraphes précédents seront déterminées par la loi électorale organique.

Art. 29. Les dispositions de l'article précédent ne sont pas applicables aux assemblées élues pour la révision de la constitution.

Art. 30. L'élection des représentants se fera par département, et au scrutin de liste.

Les électeurs voteront au chef-lieu de canton ; néanmoins, en raison des circonstances locales, le canton

pourra être divisé en plusieurs circonscriptions, dans la forme et aux conditions qui seront déterminées par la loi électorale.

Art. 31. L'Assemblée nationale est élue pour trois ans, et se renouvelle intégralement.

Quarante-cinq jours au plus tard avant la fin de la législature, une loi détermine l'époque des nouvelles élections.

Si aucune loi n'est intervenue dans le délai fixé par le paragraphe précédent, les électeurs se réunissent de plein droit le trentième jour qui précède la fin de la législature.

La nouvelle Assemblée est convoquée de plein droit pour le lendemain du jour où finit le mandat de l'Assemblée précédente.

Art. 32. Elle est permanente.

Néanmoins elle peut s'ajourner à un jour qu'elle fixe.

Pendant la durée de la prorogation, une commission composée des membres du bureau et de vingt-cinq représentants nommés par l'Assemblée au scrutin secret et à la majorité absolue, a le droit de la convoquer en cas d'urgence.

Le président de la République a aussi le droit de convoquer l'Assemblée.

L'Assemblée nationale détermine le lieu de ses séances. Elle fixe l'importance des forces militaires établies pour sa sûreté et elle en dispose.

Art. 33. Les représentants sont toujours rééligibles.

Art. 34. Les membres de l'Assemblée nationale sont les représentants, non du département qui les nomme, mais de la France entière.

Art. 35. Ils ne peuvent recevoir de mandat impératif.

Art. 36. Les représentants du peuple sont inviolables.

Ils ne pourront être recherchés, accusés ni jugés en aucun temps pour les opinions qu'ils auront émises dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale.

Art. 37. Ils ne peuvent être arrêtés en matière criminelle, sauf le cas de flagrant délit, ni poursuivis qu'après que l'Assemblée a permis la poursuite.

En cas d'arrestation pour flagrant délit, il en sera immédiatement référé à l'Assemblée, qui autorisera ou refusera la continuation des poursuites.

Cette disposition s'applique au cas où un citoyen détenu est nommé représentant.

Art. 38. Chaque représentant du peuple reçoit une indemnité à laquelle il ne peut renoncer.

Art. 39. Les séances de l'Assemblée sont publiques.

Néanmoins l'Assemblée peut se former en comité secret, sur la demande du nombre de représentants fixé par le règlement.

Chaque représentant a le droit d'initiative parlementaire ; il l'exercera selon les formes déterminées par le règlement.

Art. 40. La présence de la moitié plus un des membres de l'Assemblée est nécessaire pour la validité du vote des lois.

Art. 41. Aucun projet de loi, sauf les cas d'urgence, ne sera voté définitivement qu'après trois délibérations, à des intervalles qui ne peuvent pas être moindres de cinq jours.

Art. 42. Toute proposition ayant pour objet de déclarer l'urgence est précédée d'un exposé des motifs.

Si l'Assemblée est d'avis de donner suite à la proposition d'urgence, elle en ordonne le renvoi dans les bureaux, et fixe le moment où *le rapport sur l'urgence lui sera présenté.*

Sur ce rapport, si l'Assemblée reconnaît l'urgence, elle le déclare et fixe le moment de la discussion.

Si elle décide qu'il n'y a pas urgence, le projet suit le cours des propositions ordinaires.

CHAPITRE V.

Du pouvoir exécutif.

Art. 43. Le peuple français délègue le pouvoir exécutif à un citoyen qui reçoit le titre de président de la République.

Art. 44. Le président doit être né Français, âgé de trente ans au moins, et n'avoir jamais perdu la qualité de Français.

Art. 45. Le président de la République est élu pour quatre ans, et n'est rééligible qu'après un intervalle de quatre années.

Ne peuvent, non plus, être élus après lui, dans le même intervalle, ni le vice-président ni aucun des parents ou alliés du président jusqu'au sixième degré inclusivement.

Art. 46. L'élection a lieu de plein droit le deuxième dimanche du mois de mai.

Dans le cas où, par suite de décès, de démission ou de toute autre cause, le président serait élu à une autre époque, ses pouvoirs expireront le deuxième dimanche du mois de mai de la quatrième année qui suivra son élection.

Le président est nommé, au scrutin secret et à la majorité absolue des votants, par le suffrage direct de tous les électeurs des départements français et de l'Algérie.

Art. 47. Les procès-verbaux des opérations électorales sont transmis immédiatement à l'Assemblée nationale, qui

statue sans délai sur la validité de l'élection et proclame le président de la République.

Si aucun candidat n'a obtenu plus de la moitié des suffrages exprimés, et au moins deux millions de voix, ou si les conditions exigées par l'article 44 ne sont pas remplies, l'Assemblée nationale élit le président de la République, à la majorité absolue et au scrutin secret, parmi les cinq candidats éligibles qui ont obtenu le plus de voix.

Art. 48. Avant d'entrer en fonctions, le président de la République prête au sein de l'Assemblée nationale le serment dont la teneur suit :

EN PRÉSENCE DE DIEU ET DEVANT LE PEUPLE FRANÇAIS, REPRÉSENTÉ PAR L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, JE JURE DE RESTER FIDÈLE À LA RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE UNE ET INDIVISIBLE, ET DE REMPLIR TOUS LES DEVOIRS QUE M'IMPOSE LA CONSTITUTION.

Art. 49. Il a le droit de faire présenter des projets de loi à l'Assemblée nationale par les ministres.

Il surveille et assure l'exécution des lois.

Art. 50. Il dispose de la force armée, sans pouvoir jamais la commander en personne.

Art. 51. Il ne peut céder aucune portion du territoire, ni dissoudre ni proroger l'Assemblée nationale, ni suspendre, en aucune manière, l'empire de la constitution et des lois.

Art. 52. Il présente, chaque année, par un message à l'Assemblée nationale, l'exposé de l'état général des affaires de la République.

Art. 53. Il négocie et ratifie les traités.

Aucun traité n'est définitif qu'après avoir été approuvé par l'Assemblée nationale.

Art. 54. Il veille à la défense de l'État, mais il ne peut

entreprendre aucune guerre sans le consentement de l'Assemblée nationale.

Art. 55. Il a le droit de faire grâce, mais il ne peut exercer ce droit qu'après avoir pris l'avis du conseil d'État.

Les amnisties ne peuvent être accordées que par une loi.

Le président de la République, les ministres, ainsi que toutes autres personnes condamnées par la haute cour de justice, ne peuvent être graciés que par l'Assemblée nationale.

Art. 56. Le président de la République promulgue les lois au nom du peuple français.

Art. 57. Les lois d'urgence sont promulguées dans le délai de trois jours, et les autres lois dans le délai d'un mois, à partir du jour où elles auront été adoptées par l'Assemblée nationale.

Art. 58. Dans le délai fixé pour la promulgation, le président de la République peut, par un message motivé, demander une nouvelle délibération.

L'Assemblée délibère : sa résolution devient définitive ; elle est transmise au président de la République.

En ce cas, la promulgation a lieu dans le délai fixé pour les lois d'urgence.

Art. 59. À défaut de promulgation par le président de la République dans les délais déterminés par les articles précédents, il y serait pourvu par le président de l'Assemblée nationale.

Art. 60. Les envoyés et les ambassadeurs des puissances étrangères sont accrédités auprès du président de la République.

Art. 61. Il préside aux solennités nationales.

Art. 62. Il est logé aux frais de la République, et reçoit un traitement de six cent mille francs par an.

Art. 63. Il réside au lieu où siège l'Assemblée nationale, et ne peut sortir du territoire continental de la République sans y être autorisé par une loi.

Art. 64. Le président de la République nomme et révoque les ministres.

Il nomme et révoque, en conseil des ministres, les agents diplomatiques, les commandants en chef des armées de terre et de mer, les préfets, le commandant supérieur des gardes nationales de la Seine, les gouverneurs de l'Algérie et des colonies, les procureurs généraux et autres fonctionnaires d'un ordre supérieur.

Il nomme et révoque, sur la proposition du ministre compétent, dans les conditions réglementaires déterminées par la loi, les agents secondaires du Gouvernement.

Art. 65. Il a le droit de suspendre, pour un terme qui ne pourra excéder trois mois, les agents du pouvoir exécutif élus par les citoyens.

Il ne peut les révoquer que de l'avis du conseil d'État.

La loi détermine les cas où les agents révoqués peuvent être déclarés inéligibles aux mêmes fonctions.

Cette déclaration d'inéligibilité ne pourra être prononcée que par un jugement.

Art. 66. Le nombre des ministres et leurs attributions sont fixés par le pouvoir législatif.

Art. 67. Les actes du président de la République, autres que ceux par lesquels il nomme et révoque les ministres, n'ont d'effet que s'ils sont contre-signés par un ministre.

Art. 68. Le président de la République, les ministres, les agents et dépositaires de l'autorité publique, sont responsables, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de tous les actes du gouvernement et de l'administration.

Toute mesure par laquelle le président de la Répu-

blique dissout l'Assemblée nationale, la proroge ou met obstacle à l'exercice de son mandat, est un crime de haute trahison.

Par ce seul fait, le président est déchu de ses fonctions; les citoyens sont tenus de lui refuser obéissance; le pouvoir exécutif passe de plein droit à l'Assemblée nationale; les juges de la haute cour de justice se réunissent immédiatement, à peine de forfaiture; ils convoquent les jurés dans le lieu qu'ils désignent, pour procéder au jugement du président et de ses complices; ils nomment eux-mêmes les magistrats chargés de remplir les fonctions du ministère public.

Une loi déterminera les autres cas de responsabilité, ainsi que les formes et les conditions de la poursuite.

Art. 69. Les ministres ont entrée dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale; ils sont entendus toutes les fois qu'ils le demandent, et peuvent se faire assister par des commissaires nommés par un décret du président de la République.

Art. 70. Il y a un vice-président de la République nommé par l'Assemblée nationale, sur la présentation de trois candidats faite par le président dans le mois qui suit son élection.

Le vice-président prête le même serment que le président.

Le vice-président ne pourra être choisi parmi les parents et alliés du président jusqu'au sixième degré inclusivement.

En cas d'empêchement du président, le vice-président le remplace.

Si la présidence devient vacante par décès, démission du président, ou autrement, il est procédé, dans le mois, à l'élection d'un président.

CHAPITRE VI.

Du conseil d'État.

Art. 71. Il y aura un conseil d'État, dont le vice-président de la République sera de droit président.

Art. 72. Les membres de ce conseil sont nommés pour six ans par l'Assemblée nationale. Ils sont renouvelés par moitié dans les deux premiers mois de chaque législature, au scrutin secret et à la majorité absolue.

Ils sont indéfiniment rééligibles.

Art. 73. Ceux des membres du conseil d'État qui auront été pris dans le sein de l'Assemblée nationale seront immédiatement remplacés comme représentants du peuple.

Art. 74. Les membres du conseil d'État ne peuvent être révoqués que par l'Assemblée, et sur la proposition du président de la République.

Art. 75. Le conseil d'État est consulté sur les projets de loi du Gouvernement qui, d'après la loi, devront être soumis à son examen préalable, et sur les projets d'initiative parlementaire que l'Assemblée lui aura renvoyés.

Il prépare les règlements d'administration publique; il fait seul ceux de ces règlements à l'égard desquels l'Assemblée nationale lui a donné une délégation spéciale.

Il exerce, à l'égard des administrations publiques, tous les pouvoirs de contrôle et de surveillance qui lui sont délégués par la loi.

La loi réglera ses autres attributions.

CHAPITRE VII.

De l'administration intérieure.

Art. 76. La division du territoire en départements, arrondissements, cantons et communes, est maintenue. Les

circonscriptions actuelles ne pourront être changées que par la loi.

Art. 77. Il y a, 1° dans chaque département, une administration composée d'un préfet, d'un conseil général, d'un conseil de préfecture ;

2° Dans chaque arrondissement, un sous-préfet ;

3° Dans chaque canton, un conseil cantonal ; néanmoins, un seul conseil cantonal sera établi dans les villes divisées en plusieurs cantons ;

4° Dans chaque commune, une administration composée d'un maire, d'adjoints et d'un conseil municipal.

Art. 78. Une loi déterminera la composition et les attributions des conseils généraux, des conseils cantonaux, des conseils municipaux, et le mode de nomination des maires et des adjoints.

Art. 79. Les conseils généraux et les conseils municipaux sont élus par le suffrage direct de tous les citoyens domiciliés dans le département ou dans la commune. Chaque canton élit un membre du conseil général.

Une loi spéciale réglera le mode d'élection dans le département de la Seine, dans la ville de Paris et dans les villes de plus de vingt mille âmes.

Art. 80. Les conseils généraux, les conseils cantonaux et les conseils municipaux peuvent être dissous par le président de la République, de l'avis du conseil d'État. La loi fixera le délai dans lequel il sera procédé à la réélection.

CHAPITRE VIII.

Du pouvoir judiciaire.

Art. 81. La justice est rendue gratuitement au nom du peuple français.

Les débats sont publics, à moins que la publicité ne soit

dangereuse pour l'ordre ou les mœurs; et, dans ce cas, le tribunal le déclare par un jugement.

Art. 82. Le jury continuera d'être appliqué en matière criminelle.

Art. 83. La connaissance de tous les délits politiques et de tous les délits commis par la voie de la presse appartient exclusivement au jury.

Les lois organiques détermineront la compétence, en matière de délits d'injures et de diffamation contre les particuliers.

Art. 84. Le jury statue seul sur les dommages-intérêts réclamés pour faits ou délits de presse.

Art. 85. Les juges de paix et leurs suppléants, les juges de première instance et d'appel, les membres de la cour de cassation et de la cour des comptes, sont nommés par le président de la République, d'après un ordre de candidature ou d'après des conditions qui seront réglés par les lois organiques.

Art. 86. Les magistrats du ministère public sont nommés par le président de la République.

Art. 87. Les juges de première instance et d'appel, les membres de la cour de cassation et de la cour des comptes sont nommés à vie.

Ils ne peuvent être révoqués ou suspendus que par un jugement, ni mis à la retraite que pour les causes et dans les formes déterminées par les lois.

Art. 88. Les conseils de guerre et de révision des armées de terre et de mer, les tribunaux maritimes, les tribunaux de commerce, les prud'hommes et autres tribunaux spéciaux conservent leur organisation et leurs attributions actuelles jusqu'à ce qu'il y ait été dérogé par une loi.

Art. 89. Les conflits d'attribution entre l'autorité administrative et l'autorité judiciaire seront réglés par un tribunal spécial de membres de la cour de cassation et de conseillers d'État, désignés tous les trois ans en nombre égal par leurs corps respectifs.

Ce tribunal sera présidé par le ministre de la justice.

Art. 90. Les recours pour incompétence et excès de pouvoirs contre les arrêts de la cour des comptes seront portés devant la juridiction des conflits.

Art. 91. Une haute cour de justice juge, sans appel ni recours en cassation, les accusations portées par l'Assemblée nationale contre le président de la République ou les ministres.

Elle juge également toutes personnes prévenues de crimes, attentats ou complots contre la sûreté intérieure ou extérieure de l'État, que l'Assemblée nationale aura renvoyées devant elle.

Sauf le cas prévu par l'art. 68, elle ne peut être saisie qu'en vertu d'un décret de l'Assemblée nationale, qui désigne la ville où la cour tiendra ses séances.

Art. 92. La haute cour est composée de cinq juges et de trente-six jurés.

Chaque année, dans les quinze premiers jours du mois de novembre, la cour de cassation nomme, parmi ses membres, au scrutin secret et à la majorité absolue, les juges de la haute cour, au nombre de cinq et deux suppléants. Les cinq juges appelés à siéger feront choix de leur président.

Les magistrats remplissant les fonctions du ministère public sont désignés par le président de la République, et, en cas d'accusation du président ou des ministres, par l'Assemblée nationale.

Les jurés, au nombre de trente-six, et quatre jurés sup-

pléants, sont pris parmi les membres des conseils généraux des départements.

Les représentants du peuple n'en peuvent faire partie.

Art. 93. Lorsqu'un décret de l'Assemblée nationale a ordonné la formation de la haute cour de justice, et, dans le cas prévu par l'art. 68, sur la réquisition du président ou de l'un des juges, le président de la cour d'appel, et, à défaut de cour d'appel, le président du tribunal de première instance du chef-lieu judiciaire du département tire au sort, en audience publique, le nom d'un membre du conseil général.

Art. 94. Au jour indiqué pour le jugement, s'il y a moins de soixante jurés présents, ce nombre sera complété par des jurés supplémentaires tirés au sort par le président de la haute cour parmi les membres du conseil général du département où siégera la cour.

Art. 95. Les jurés qui n'auront pas produit d'excuse valable seront condamnés à une amende de mille à dix mille francs, et à la privation des droits politiques pendant cinq ans au plus.

Art. 96. L'accusé et le ministère public exercent le droit de récusation, comme en matière ordinaire.

Art. 97. La déclaration du jury portant que l'accusé est coupable ne peut être rendue qu'à la majorité des deux tiers des voix.

Art. 98. Dans tous les cas de responsabilité des ministres, l'Assemblée nationale peut, selon les circonstances, renvoyer le ministre inculpé, soit devant la haute cour de justice, soit devant les tribunaux ordinaires, pour les réparations civiles.

Art. 99. L'Assemblée nationale et le président de la République peuvent, dans tous les cas, déférer l'examen

des actes de tout fonctionnaire, autre que le président de la République, au conseil d'État, dont le rapport est rendu public.

Art. 100. Le président de la République n'est justiciable que de la haute cour de justice.

Il ne peut, à l'exception du cas prévu par l'art. 68, être poursuivi que sur l'accusation portée par l'Assemblée nationale et pour crimes et délits qui seront déterminés par la loi.

CHAPITRE IX.

De la force publique.

Art. 101. La force publique est instituée pour défendre l'État contre les ennemis du dehors, et pour assurer au dedans le maintien de l'ordre et l'exécution des lois.

Elle se compose de la garde nationale et de l'armée de terre et de mer.

Art. 102. Tout Français, sauf les exceptions fixées par la loi, doit le service militaire et celui de la garde nationale.

La faculté pour chaque citoyen de se libérer du service militaire personnel sera réglée par la loi du recrutement.

Art. 103. L'organisation de la garde nationale et la constitution de l'armée seront réglées par la loi.

Art. 104. La force publique est essentiellement obéissante.

Nul corps armé ne peut délibérer.

Art. 105. La force publique employée pour maintenir l'ordre à l'intérieur n'agit que sur la réquisition des autorités constituées, suivant les règles déterminées par le pouvoir législatif.

Art. 106. Une loi déterminera les cas dans lesquels l'é-

tat de siège pourra être déclaré, et réglera les formes et les effets de cette mesure.

Art. 107. Aucune troupe étrangère ne peut être introduite sur le territoire français sans le consentement préalable de l'Assemblée nationale.

CHAPITRE X.

Dispositions particulières.

Art. 108. La Légion d'honneur est maintenue ; ses statuts seront révisés et mis en harmonie avec la constitution.

Art. 109. Le territoire de l'Algérie et des colonies est déclaré territoire français et sera régi par des lois particulières, jusqu'à ce qu'une loi spéciale les place sous le régime de la présente constitution.

Art. 110. L'Assemblée nationale confie le dépôt de la présente constitution et des droits qu'elle consacre à la garde et au patriotisme de tous les Français.

CHAPITRE XI.

De la révision de la constitution.

Art. 111. Lorsque, dans la dernière année d'une législature, l'Assemblée nationale aura émis le vœu que la constitution soit modifiée en tout ou en partie, il sera procédé à cette révision de la manière suivante :

Le vœu exprimé par l'Assemblée ne sera converti en résolution définitive qu'après trois délibérations consécutives, prises chacune à un mois d'intervalle et aux trois quarts des suffrages exprimés. Le nombre des votants devra être de cinq cents au moins.

L'Assemblée de révision ne sera nommée que pour trois mois.

Elle ne devra s'occuper que de la révision pour laquelle elle aura été convoquée.

Néanmoins elle pourra, en cas d'urgence, pourvoir aux nécessités législatives.

CHAPITRE XII.

Dispositions transitoires.

Art. 112. Les dispositions des codes, lois et règlements existants, qui ne sont pas contraires à la présente constitution, restent en vigueur jusqu'à ce qu'il y soit légalement dérogé.

Art. 113. Toutes les autorités constituées par les lois actuelles demeurent en exercice jusqu'à la promulgation des lois organiques qui les concernent.

Art. 114. La loi d'organisation judiciaire déterminera le mode spécial de nomination pour la première composition des nouveaux tribunaux.

Art. 115. Après le vote de la constitution, il sera procédé, par l'Assemblée nationale constituante, à la rédaction des lois organiques dont l'énumération sera déterminée par une loi spéciale.

Art. 116. Il sera procédé à la première élection du président de la République conformément à la loi spéciale rendue par l'Assemblée nationale le 28 octobre 1848.

Délibéré en séance publique, à Paris, le 4 novembre 1848.

Le président et les secrétaires,

ARMAND-MARRAST, LÉON ROBERT, LANDRIN, BÉRARD, ÉMILE PÉAN, PEUPIN, F. DEGEORGE.

Le président de l'Assemblée nationale,

ARMAND-MARRAST.

I N D E X.

- , Lord, his interview with the Marquis of Normanby, ii. 63.
- Abbeville, treatment of the Duchesse de Montpensier at, i. 162.
- Adam, M. Edmond, nominated for the department of the Seine, ii. 210.
- Adelaide, the Princess, her death, i. 30. Its effect on the King, 31. Behaviour of the Chamber of Deputies on the address of condolence to the King, 33. Her liberal advice to the King on all occasions, 150.
- Affre, Denis, Archbishop of Paris. See Archbishop of Paris.
- Agricultural schools and colonies, proposition in the Assembly for establishing, ii. 2. Effect of the subdivision of property on French agriculture, 3.
- Albert, *ouvrier*, appointed one of the Secretaries of the Provisional Government, i. 102. His jealousy of M. Lamartine, 319. Takes part in a conspiracy to overthrow the Provisional Government, 320. 388. His trial and imprisonment referred to, ii. 353. 384.
- Algeria, Governor-Generalship of, given to the Duc D'Aumale, i. 12. And afterwards to General Cavaignac, 104.
- Alliance, the English, i. 8. Value entertained by Louis Philippe for 9. And by M. Lamartine, 133. 137. 153.
- Alsace, serious apprehensions respecting, ii. 113.
- Ambassades and the "droit des gens," i. 88. 95.
- Anarchy, rapid advances towards, i. 243.
- Antoine, Faubourg St., barricade at the, ii. 54. Cavaignac threatens to bombard the quarter, 55. Taken by the troops, 57.
- Arago, M. François, accepts office as Minister of Marine, i. 94. 104. His manifesto to the navy, 128. Nominated to the post of Minister of War, 297. His jealousy of M. Lamartine's popularity, 319. Joins the conspiracy to overthrow the government, 320. Elected a member of the Executive Council, 370. His evidence respecting M. Louis Blanc before the Commission, ii. 144. His part in the discussion on the Report of the Commission, 174, 175. His retirement, 384.
- Arago, M. Étienne, his conduct at Lyons, i. 261. 287. Remarks on his addresses to the army, 304. Conspires against the government, 320. And votes against it, ii. 185.

- Archbishop of Paris, his death, ii, 55. The details as related by the "Moniteur," 70. Anecdote of his last moments, 73. His funeral, 98, 99.
- Aristocracy, state of the French, in 1847, i, 18. Extract from Count Molé's speech on the possibility of an, in France, 311. Remarks on the Chamber of Peers of 1832, 312.
- Army. See Troops.
- Assemblages, public, law passed forbidding, i, 450.
- "Assemblée Nationale," the, stopped, ii, 102. The prohibition removed, 151, 152.
- Assembly, the National, M. de Lamartine's circular respecting the opening of, 356. Refusal of the corps diplomatique to be present in an official character, 357. The first meeting of, 359. Description of the *salle*, 359, 360. Number of Deputies at the first sitting, 360. Their appearance and conduct, 360, 361. Proclamation of the Republic, 361. Activity and noise of the public tribunes, 361. Speech of M. Dupont de l'Eure, 367. Interesting nature of the debates, 369. Refuses to vote any salaries for Under Secretaries of State, 379. *note*. Discord in the Assembly, 380. Division of the Assembly into fifteen Committees, 388. Conspiracy to overthrow the government, 388. The Chamber invaded by the people, 389, 393. Description of the mob, and their proceedings, 394. Evacuated by the rioters, 399. Disorder and irregularity of the proceedings, 403, 405. Its fears and precautions, 414. Its relations with the Executive Council, 418, 419. Discussions respecting the removal of M. E'mile Thomas, 429, 445. And regarding the monthly funds demanded by the Executive Commission, 457. Vote for the exile and exclusion of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, 459. Decree for his arrest, 461. Law against *attroupements*, 462. Vote for the admission of Louis Napoleon, 469. Vote for a Commission to inquire into the arrest of M. E'mile Thomas, 474. Louis Napoleon's letter to the Assembly, 475. Agitation with which it was received, 476. His rejection of office, 479. Reading of the project of the Constitution, ii, 7. Fighting in the streets, 28. Disorderly meeting of the Assembly, 29. The Executive Council superseded and General Cavaignac entrusted with sole power, 35. Letter from the Executive Council to the President of the Assembly, 39. Some of the representatives made prisoners by the insurgents, 59. Formation of the new ministry, 79. Programme from the Club of Representatives, 113. Discussion on the affairs of Italy, 114. Changes in the Administration, 120. Letter from Louis Napoleon, again declining office, 121. Discussion on the proposed law against Clubs, 122. And on the suppression of eleven newspapers, 131. Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the events of May and June, 134. Diminution of financial resources, 137. Charge against ministers of abuse of the public funds, 139. Intended demonstration of the wives and female relatives of the insurgents, 164. Discussion on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, 174—176. Decides that it can prolong its own existence to pass organic laws, 198. M. Mathieu de la Drome's amendment, 203. Deputation sent to General Cavaignac, 211. Discussion upon the "*impôt progressif*," 216. And upon the question of one or two Chambers, 217. And on the democratic banquets in the South, 225. Changes in the monthly renewal of the *Bureaux*, 227. Division on the question of armed intervention, 228. Absence of all Parliamentary discipline, 229. The Assembly desirous of peace, 229. Debates on the modes of conducting the Presidential election, 233. Amend-

- ment to exclude members of any previous reigning family, 239. Ministerial changes, 245. General Cavaignac's motion for a special commission to consider the state of siege, 246. Its termination decided on, 255. Discussion on the "remplacement militaire," 256. Scene between M. Clément Thomas and the members of the Bonaparte family, 266. Position of the moderate party, 272. Final vote upon the Constitution taken, 280. Announcement of a reduction in the army, 285. Mistake of the moderate members in making a party question of the reelection of its president, 301. Character of the Assembly, 303. 311. The Roman expedition, 331—345. Thanks of the Papal Nuncio, 346. Answer of the President, M. Armand Marrast, 347. Discussion on "les récompenses nationales," 350. Proceedings on the election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the Presidency, 377.
- Ateliers Nationaux, works of the, on the banks of the Seine, i. 280. Their serious intentions respecting the National Assembly, 415. Their relations with the government, 415. Their chief, M. E'mile Thomas, seized and removed, 415, 416. 428, 429. Their condition, and difficulty of the government respecting them, 444. Their immense numbers, and dangers to be apprehended from them, ii. 3. Discussion on their condition, 8. Speeches of MM. Victor Hugo and Caussidière in the Assembly respecting them, 14, 15. Their leaders seen on the barricades, 30. Edict for their instant deportation passed, 30.
- Attroupements, laws passed by the National Assembly against, i. 462.
- Baden, Grand Duchy of, meditated incursion of the Association of Democratic Germans into, i. 257.
- Banlieux, legions of the, partisans of Louis Napoleon, i. 461.
- Barbès, M., his proclamation respecting property, i. 358. Takes part in a conspiracy against the government, 388. Arrested, 389. 400. Joins the insurgents, ii. 34. 46.
- Baroche, M., his speech on "les récompenses nationales," ii. 354.
- Barricades, the, erected, i. 91. Formation of, in various parts of Paris, ii. 27. Fighting at the, 28, 29. 34. Progress of the émeutiers, 34. Female insurgents, 42, 43. Barricades of the Faubourg St. Antoine, 45. Desperate defence of one, 77.
- Barrot, M. Odilon, his exposé of the practices of the government, i. 38. His speech in the Chamber, 40. Meeting at his house respecting the Reform Banquet, 80. His popularity, 90. Appointed Minister of the Interior, 92. 93. His speech in favour of a Regency, 120. Its failure, 121. Gives in his adhesion to the Provisional Government, 128. His speech in the National Assembly, 371. Appointed president of a Commission to examine into the truth of the reports respecting foreign interference, ii. 57. His speech on the question of one or two Chambers, 218. Louis Napoleon's offers to him, 273. Charged by Louis Napoleon with the formation of a new Cabinet, 374.
- Barthélémy St. Hilaire, M., appointed Minister of Public Instruction, ii. 79.
- Bastide, M. Jules, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, i. 378. 385. Testimony to his character, 378. a. Tone of his letter, 385, 386. Interview with him respecting the recognition of the Government by the representatives of foreign powers, 424, 425. Conversation with him regarding French foreign politics, 432. Curious conversation with him on his own position, 438. And its results, 446. His pacific feelings and honest dealings, 447. His opinion of the unfitness of France for universal suffrage, 449. Conversation with him respecting M. Récourt's explanation, ii. 4. Let-

- ter from the Marquis of Normanby to him, respecting English depositors in the savings' banks, 19—26. Conversations regarding the charges of MM. Marrast and Flocon, 37. 56. Interview between Madame E'mile de Girardin and M. Bastide, 60, 61. Letter from the Marquis of Normanby to him respecting the aspersions against England, 61. Presents the Marquis of Normanby to General Cavaignac, 67. Remains at the Foreign Office with Cavaignac, 79. His answer to the Marquis of Normanby's letter, 81, 82. 87. Attempt to assassinate him, 244. His illness, 293. His opinion of the state of public feeling, 300. Testimony to his high character for good sense and honesty of purpose, 372.
- Bastille, anniversary of the taking of the, ii. 106.
- Baudin, failure of the firm of, i. 214.
- Baudin, Admiral, takes command of the Mediterranean fleet, i. 128.
- Beaumont, M., ambassador to the Court of London, ii. 245.
- Bedeau, M. le Général, nominated Minister of War, i. 104. Wounded at the barricades, ii. 44. Proposal to send him as ambassador to London, 104. Unfavourable appearance of his wound, 115.
- Belgian democrats leave Paris in large bodies, i. 269. Their reception at the frontier, 270. 285. Lamartine's remarks respecting them, 284. Accounts from the frontier, 309. The funds said to have been supplied by the French Government, ii. 140.
- Belgium, its recognition of the French Republic, i. 423. 433.
- Berryer, M., his speech on the diminution of financial resources, ii. 137. His influence in the Assembly, 156.
- Bethmont, M., nominated Minister of Commerce, i. 104. And afterwards of Justice, ii. 79.
- Billault, M., his speech against M. Guizot alluded to, i. 48.
- Bixio, M., wounded at the barricades, ii. 44.
- Blanc, M. Louis, nominated Secretary of the Provisional Government, i. 94. His doctrines and their tendencies, 166. Aware of the absurdity of his own theories when pushed to excess, 167. Detection of his theories by the workmen, 300. His jealousy of M. Lamartine's popularity, 319. Takes part in a conspiracy against the government, 320. His astonishment on his arrival at the Hôtel-de-Ville, 325. Silenced by M. Lamartine, 326. His ill-advised summons to the workmen of the capital, 347. Joins the conspiracy to overthrow the government, 388. Arrested, 389. 400. Proposal to prosecute him, 434. His support of the Bonaparte movement, 456. 469. Personal accusations against him, ii. 135. His defence in the Assembly, 144. 177. 179. Remarks on his opposition to M. Proudhon's project, 147. His treatment of his dupes, 148. His exile in England, 384.
- Blanqui, M., members of his club sent to England and Ireland, i. 300. His critical position, 301. Takes part in a conspiracy to overthrow the Provisional Government, 320. His interview with M. Lamartine, 321. *note*. His petition calling for vengeance on the National Guard at Rouen, 358. Takes part in a conspiracy against the government, 388. His conduct in the Assembly when invaded by the mob, 396.
- "Blouses," their places in the National Assembly, i. 360.
- Boisvet, M., elected one of the members for the department of the Seine, i. 454.
- Bordeaux, Duc de, little chance of his success, i. 170.
- Bordeaux, the Commissaire of, superseded by M. Ledru-Rollin, i. 260. His nominee compelled to fly, 260.
- Boulevards, fighting in the, i. 91.
- Bourgeoisie, their conduct at the barricades, ii. 89.
- Bréa, General, suppresses the insur-

- rection at the left bank of the Seine, ii. 44. Assassinated by the insurgents, 51. His burial-place, 52. *note*. His birth-place, 53. *note*. "Bread, or more barricades!" the cry of, ii. 107.
- Bresson, M., his fate, i. 184. *note*.
- Brignole, the Marquis, obtains pledges assuring the inviolability of Sardinia, i. 409.
- Brisset, M., appointed by M. Vivien chef de cabinet, ii. 262.
- Buchez, M., President of the National Assembly, i. 392. 451. Turned out of his chair by the mob, 123. *note*, 393. His unfitness for his post, 451.
- Bugeaud, Marshal, takes the command of the garrison, i. 99. His admirable military arrangements, 175. Notion of proposing him for President of the Republic, ii. 254. Offers himself as a candidate, 274.
- "Bulletins de la République," M. Ledru-Rollin's, i. 316. Supposed authorship of the, 316. Extract from one, 317. Their official character, 364. The cause of dispute amongst the members of the Provisional Government, 365.
- C., Madame, and her jewels, i. 111.
- Cabet, M., the Communist, language held by him towards the Provisional Government, i. 242. Takes part in a conspiracy against the new government, 388.
- Carnot, M., nominated Minister of Public Instruction, i. 104. Causes of his retirement, ii. 81.
- Carrel, M. Armand, reference to his end, ii. 131.
- Carrousel, Place du, seizure of arms by the mob in the, ii. 68.
- Caussidière, M., said to have joined the conspiracy to destroy the government, i. 389. Nominated a candidate for the Seine, and placed at the head of the list, 448, 449. Elected, 454. His proposed policy towards England, ii. 15—17. His subsequent refuge there, 17. *note*. Proposes to treat with the émeutiers, 29. His defence in the discussion on the Report of the Committee of Inquiry, 177.
- Cavaignac, M. le Général, appointed governor-general of Algeria, i. 104. Nominated a candidate for the Department of the Seine, 452. His speech on the letter of Louis Napoleon to the Assembly, 476. His intentions respecting the banquet of "La Fraternisation des Travailleurs," ii. 13. Riots in the streets, 27. 33, 34. All the Executive powers given to him, 35. Attacks the insurgents, 41. His measures for extinguishing the insurrection, 49. *et seq.* His proclamation announcing the suppression of the revolt, 58. His personal qualifications for a crisis, 64. His important position, 66. The Marquis of Normanby presented to him, 67. Named President of the Council without portefeuille, 78. Rumours of a plot for his assassination, 93. His careworn look, 93. His growing jealousy of Lamoricière and Changarnier, 108. His generalship, 109. Decides that none of the insurgents shall be executed, 115. Made Dictator, 133. His observations on the anti-English articles in the "National," 150, 151. His conduct respecting the vacancies in the representation, 152, 153. Receives the Marquis of Normanby "chargé d'une mission spéciale," 163. Cavaignac's explanation on foreign politics, 166. His reply to M. Jules Favre, 172. Characteristics of his administration, 183. His first indiscretion in the Tribune, 189. His quarrel with General Changarnier, 193. His critical position, 196. Such a man a necessity at the moment, 197. Attends a great dinner at the British Embassy, 201. Receives a deputation from the moderate portion of the Assembly, 211. Conversation with him as to his own position and the prospects of the Republic, 213. And as to the election for President, 230. Declines the proposal of the Réunion of the Rue de Poitiers, 238. His home policy, 243. His difficulties in forming a ministry,

244. Moves the Assembly for a special commission to consider the question of a continuance of the state of siege, 246. His vacillation, 246. Attacked by Ledru-Rollin and his friends, 251. His honesty of purpose, 252. Defends General Lamoricière, 257. Weakness and policy of his government, 261. 263. Conversation with him on the state of the country, 262. Becomes a candidate for the Presidency, 268. His critical position, 269. His remarks on the question of closing the clubs, 275. Votes against the motion for the exclusion of the Bonaparte family from the Presidency, 278. His connection with the Socialists, 279. Garnier-Pagès' charges against him, 280. His difficulties, 283. His address to the civil and military authorities, 286. His position with the moderate party, 295. And quarrel with some of them, 305. Efforts of the Cabinet to insure his election, 310. His defence against a *quasi* indictment, 316, 317. His conduct in June, 318. Conversation with him on the chances of the Presidential election, 328. The expedition to Rome, 331. His instructions to M. Courcelles, 333. Letter from the Pope to him, 349. Unscrupulous use of government influence to secure his election, 357. Improbability of his election, 366. His praiseworthy language, 366. His conduct under adverse circumstances, 370. His resignation, 374. Testimony to his high character, 386.
- Chaillot, convent of, danger of the nuns of the, ii. 111.
- Chambers, discussions in the National Assembly on the question of one or two, ii. 217.
- Chambery taken by the Republicans, i. 307.
- Changarnier, General, insists on a *carte blanche* in the management of his department, i. 298. Defeats a conspiracy formed against the government, 323, 324, 333. Testimony to his great services rendered to his country, 324. Lamartine's jealousy of him, 402. Nominated a candidate for the representation of the Department of the Seine, 448. Elected, 454. Cavaignac's jealousy of him, ii. 108. His quarrel with General Cavaignac, 193. His arrangements for the proclamation of the President, 376.
- Chartists of London, address of the, to the Provisional Government, i. 225. Effect of their failure on the Paris Reds, 315.
- Cheri, Rose, her kindness to the wounded, ii. 12. *note*.
- Club of Representatives, curious programme from the, ii. 113.
- Clubs, political, proposal for closing all, ii. 65. Decree for the regulation of, 105. Discussion in the Assembly on the law respecting, 122. Ladies and minors excluded from the, 134. The law against the clubs passed, 127. Shutting up the, contemplated, 261. The measure postponed, 265. General Cavaignac's remarks on the question of closing the, 275. And M. Dufaure's, 315.
- Commercial crisis, and the causes of it, i. 185, 186. Deputation of tradesmen to the Hotel de Ville, 196. Panic amongst capitalists, and commercial failures, 212, 213.
- Communists, extent of danger to be apprehended from them, in 1847, i. 19. Rumour of an attempt on their part to overthrow the Provisional Government, 112. Their strength when united, 166. 228. Ridiculed at the clubs, 196. Their doctrines opposed by the peasantry, ii. 85.
- Concorde, Place de la, mobs at the, i. 82.
- Conspiracy to overthrow the Provisional Government, i. 320. Failure of the plot, 325.
- Constantin, Colonel, arrested, ii. 102. His villany, 103.
- Constitution, M. Lamartine's views respecting the future, i. 349. Speculations as to, 350. 353. Composition of the Committee on

- the Constitution, 404. Reading of the project of the, in the National Assembly, ii. 7. Finally voted, 280. Its character, 280, 281. Fête of the Constitution, 293. 304.
- Corruption, official, in the reign of Louis Philippe, i. 11. M. Guizot first charged with countenancing it, 38. Details of the charge, 39.
- Corsica, elects Louis Napoleon, ii. 121. His refusal to accept office, 121.
- Courcelles, M. de, sent as diplomatic agent to Civita Vecchia, ii. 328. General Cavaignac's instructions to him, 333.
- Courtois, General, appointed commandant of the National Guard, i. 104. His address to the excited legions, 236. His sword taken from him by one of the Guard, 236. Refuses to muster the National Guard, 323. Arrested for conspiracy, 389. 400. His treachery or timidity, 392.
- Crémieux, M., nominated Minister of Justice, i. 94. 104. Assists the fugitive King into his carriage, 109. Supports the proposition for a Provisional Government, 120. Story of the manner in which he obtained a place in the Provisional Government, 125. Power given to him to remove or suspend judges and magistrates, 330. His answers to addresses, 342. Proposes to refer the question of the prosecution of Louis Blanc to the Bureaux, 436. Votes against his own proposition, 436. His character seriously involved, 441. His position at the end of the year, ii. 384.
- D'Aumale, Duc de, nominated governor-general of Algeria, i. 12.
- Death, abolition of the punishment of, for political offences, i. 127.
- Denjoy, M., his speech in the National Assembly respecting the democratic banquets in the South, ii. 225.
- Deputies, Chamber of, prostitution of the majority in the, i. 15. Behaviour of, on the death of the Princess Adelaide, 35. Conflicting interests of a portion of the Chamber, 51. Invaded by the mob, 123. Disturbance in the, 123. Closed for ever, 125.
- Deputies, the, forbidden to meet their constituents, i. 15.
- Deputies of the National Assembly, their appearance and number at their first sitting, i. 360.
- Dieppe and Rouen Railway, sufferings of the English workmen on the, i. 266.
- Discussion, political, the right of, denied by M. Hebert, i. 55.
- Dormes, M., wounded at the barricades, ii. 44. M. Marrast's speech in his memory, 120.
- Drome, M. Mathieu de la, his amendment, ii. 203.
- Duchâtel, M., his character as a minister, i. 13. His position in connection with M. Guizot, 13. 25. His speeches on Reform, 35. 59. His prudent counsels respecting the Reform Banquet, 72. His escape from the Home Office, 95.
- Duclerc, M., Minister of Finance, declines to refund the deposits of Englishmen in the Savings' Banks, ii. 18. Letter from the Marquis of Normanby to M. Bastide respecting, 19—26.
- Doucoux, M., préfet de police, ii. 185. His mischievous letter, 250.
- Dufaure, M., refuses to take office for the present, ii. 230. Appointed Minister of the Interior, 245. His speech on the secret service money, 251. His address to the prefects on the subject of the presidential election, 276. His correspondence with M. Odier, 313.
- Dumesne, General, wounded at the barricades, ii. 44. His death, 41. *note.*
- Dupin, M., proposal of the opposition to nominate him as a candidate for the Presidency of the Chamber, i. 23. Declines to stand, 25. Fails to produce any effect in favour of the Regency of the Duchesse d'Orleans, 118.

Dupont, M. (de l'Eure), nominated President of the Council, i. 103. 124. Resigns, 127. Consents to remain in office, 138. His speech as read by M. Lamartine, 367.

Durrieu, M. Xavier, his *coup manqué* on foreign politics, i. 431.

Duvivier, General, agrees to summon the Garde Mobile, i. 322. His head-quarters at the Hôtel-de-Ville during the insurrection of June, ii. 40. Attacked and wounded, 40.

Elections ministerial influence on the, in 1847, i. 7. Ordonnance fixing the mode of taking the votes, 172. Speculations as to the results of the, 187. Endeavours of the mob to procure an adjournment of the, 228. Postponement of the, for ministers, 270. Schism between M.M. Ledru-Rollin and Marrast, and its probable effect on the, 339. Singular scenes at the, 343—345. The practice of packing the lists, 343. Results of the elections, 346. 348. List of successful candidates returned from the department of the Seine, 329, 443. Official returns of the Paris elections, 453.

Electors, number of, in January, 1848, i. 36. Abandonment of the electoral duty, 36. Little political excitement amongst the electors in Paris, 271. 343, 344. 448.

Elysée Bourbon, the, threatened by the mob, i. 111.

Elysées, Champs, disturbances in the, i. 98.

England, M. Lamartine's desire for the complete development of the alliance with, i. 133. 137. Determination of the English Ambassador to remain in Paris, and plans for certain contingencies, 139—141. Importance of the prompt support of England to the Provisional Government, 142. Prospective assurances of moral support of England given to them, 153. Uneasiness felt in, at the social tendencies of the Revolution, 166. 225. Anxiety in Paris

to know what is passing in England, 310. Sentiments of the violent party towards England, i. 336, 387. Opinions entertained in England respecting French affairs, 420. M. Causidière's proposed policy towards England, ii. 15—17. Accused of an intended alliance to sacrifice France, 53. Probable causes of the charge, 59, 60. Articles in the "National" on the constitution and social condition of England, 149. Debt due to England for having contributed towards the preservation of peace, 166. Reaction in favour of England, 300.

English residents in France, panic amongst the, in Paris, i. 142. Brutal ejection of workmen at Havre, 178. Their sufferings at Rouen, 230. 266. And in various parts of France, 255. Alarm among the English railway proprietors, 263—265. Violence of the anti-English newspaper, the "National," 342. The tune of "Mort aux Anglais," 342. Enquiries in the House of Commons respecting the expulsion of English workmen, 376. Safety of English residents in Paris endangered, 36. 53. 59, 60. 80. Inveterate curiosity of the English abroad, 80. 95. Communications respecting English money entrusted to the Caisse d'Épargne, 116. Settlement of the question, 188.

English army, M. Thiers' eulogium on the composition and character of the, ii. 258.

Estancelin, M., assists the Duchesse de Montpensier in her flight, i. 161.

Executive Council, formation of the, i. 370. List of members of the, 374. Defeated by the National Assembly, 419. Its conduct on the prosecution of Louis Blanc, 435—441. Its behaviour exposed by M. Jules Favre, 442. Its circular to the mayors throughout France respecting the Ateliers Nationaux, 443. Debate in the Assembly respecting the monthly funds demanded by the Executive

- Council, 457. Its powers superseded, ii. 35. Its letter to the President of the Assembly, 39. Satisfaction expressed at its removal, 42. Its faults, as exposed by the Committee of Inquiry into the events of May and June, 135. Quarrel of the late members of the Council with General Cavaignac, 305. Charges made against him, 316. His defence, 317. Conduct of the Council respecting the insurrection of June, 317, 318.
- Falloux, M. le Vicomte de, his position and talents, i. 471. His speeches on the demand of the Minister of Public Works, 472; ii. 9, 10. Presents an edict for the instant deportation of the Ateliers Nationaux, 30.
- Faucher, M. Léon, his speech on the Ateliers Nationaux, ii. 15.
- Favre, M. Jules, supposed to be one of the authors of the "Bulletins de la République," i. 316. Nominated Under-secretary of the Foreign Department, 377. His qualifications, 377. His political opinions, 378. His friendship with Ledru-Rollin, 376. His statement of the functions of the Assembly on the prosecution of Louis Blanc, 437. Impropriety of his having held the office of Reporter to the Commission, 439. His *exposé* of the conduct of the Executive Council in the prosecution of Louis Blanc, 442. His attack on the government respecting their exclusion of Louis Napoleon, 466. His sarcastic speech, 467. Observations on his style of oratory, 467, 468. His remark that the French Government had put themselves "à la suite de l'Angleterre," 172. His *exposé* of the corruptions and intimidations in endeavouring to obtain the return of General Cavaignac, 312. His speech on the Roman expedition, 341.
- Featherstonehaugh, Mr., his letter respecting the expulsion of the English workmen at Havre, i. 178. His statement regarding the English workmen at Rouen, 230.
- Female insurgents, ii. 42, 43, 51, 52.
- Ferté, Marquis de la, his appearance at the salon of Count Molé, i. 283. Anecdote of him and the garde mobile at the barricade, 77.
- Fête de la Concorde, the, i. 407. How regarded by the French people, 407.
- Financial difficulties and government expedients, i. 214. The National Loan, 214. Paper currency, 214. The proposal for 45 centimes additional taxation, 248.
- Flag, discussion on the question of the change of, i. 127. The Irish flag, 243—245.
- Flandrin, M., appointed Minister of Public Instruction, ii. 245.
- Flocon, M. Ferdinand, appointed one of the secretaries of the Provisional Government, i. 102. His jealousy of Lamartine, 319. Takes part in a conspiracy to overthrow the Provisional Government, 320. Appointed Minister of Commerce, 386. Sentiments entertained by him towards England, 386, 387. His proposition for the establishment of agricultural schools and colonies, ii. 2. Attributes the insurrection of June to foreign gold, 29. 36. Mischievous effect of his calumnies, 55. His speech on the words "des femmes," 123. His speech on the question of armed intervention, 229.
- Flotard, M., nominated general secretary to the Provisional Government, i. 104.
- Food, scarcity of, in Paris, i. 145.
- Foreign Office, disturbances at the, i. 82.
- Foreigners, threatening demonstration of, i. 257—259. Conversation with Lamartine on the answers given to foreign deputations, 259.
- Fould, M. Achille, nominated for the representation of the department of the Seine, ii. 208. Returned, 210.
- Frontiers, armed bands on the, decree for treating them as outlaws, i. 337.
- Funds, the, down to 45, i. 191.

- Garde Mobile, ordered to be mustered, i. 322. Review of, 335. Reported defection of part of the, ii. 34. Their attack of the insurgents, 41. Those made prisoners mutilated by the rioters, 68. Anecdote of one and the Archbishop of Paris, 73. And of the gallantry of one at the barricades, 76, 77. The child-hero Martin, 83. Gallantry and discipline of the Garde Mobile, 89.
- Garnier-Pagès, M., nominated mayor of Paris, i. 94. 104. Scene between him and M. Ledru-Rollin at the Hôtel-de-Ville, 239. Elected a member of the Executive Council, 374. His charges against Cavaignac, ii. 280. 305—307. His position at the end of the year, 384.
- Germans, Association of Democratic, meditated incursion of, into the Grand Duchy of Baden, i. 257.
- Gervais, M., appointed préfet de police, ii. 262.
- Girardin, M. Emile, presents the act of abdication to the King, i. 99. A candidate for the representation of the Department of the Seine, 448. Arrested and seals placed on his printing presses, ii. 60. 66. 102. 131. Supports the candidature of Louis Napoleon for the presidency, 274. Report in the "Presse" of a curious conversation between Cavaignac and Veron, 294.
- Gironde, anti-republican spirit of the, ii. 113.
- Goudchaux, M., nominated Minister of Finance, i. 104. Elected one of the members for the Seine, 454. Appointed Minister of Finance, ii. 116. Appeal to him respecting the English depositors in the Savings' Banks, 116. His proposed tax on money lent, 136. The project carried, 138. Withdrawn, 138. His notions of humanity, 206. His resignation, 206.
- Gouin and Co., failure of the house of, i. 151.
- Government, difficulties of forming any, ii. 65. Speculations as to the future government of France, 154. 165. The ministry of Louis Napoleon, 367. Absence of leading names in his Cabinet, 372.
- Greppo, M., supports Proudhon's proposition, ii. 130.
- Guinard, General, appointed assistant to the Mayor of Paris, i. 104. Refuses to order the *rappel* to be beaten, 323.
- Guinard, M., the "prisoner of M. Thiers," ii. 354.
- Guizot, M., his position in 1847, i. 13. His character as a minister, 13. His colleague, M. Duchâtel, 13. 25. His conduct in 1847, how regarded, 27. His attempt to explain away the offensive passages in the King's speech, 34. First charged with countenancing corrupt practices, 38. His callous indifference, 40. Effect of M. Odilon Barrot's speech in the Chamber, 45. M. Guizot's departed prestige, 46. Speech of M. Thiers, 49. M. Guizot's avowal of a partiality for violence, 58. His speech on Reform, 59, 60. His assertions respecting reforms which have taken place in England, 65—67. Act of impeachment against him and his colleagues presented to the Chamber of Deputies, 83. Dismissed from office, 86. The impeachment adjourned, 88. M. Guizot's escape from the Home Office, 95.
- H., M., his conduct in the Chamber, i. 394.
- Hauranne, M. Duvergier d', appointed to a place in the ministry, i. 92. His speech on the question of one or two Chambers, ii. 217.
- Havre, ejection of English workmen at, i. 178. Desperate commercial prospects at, 231.
- Havre and Rouen Railway, alarm of the shareholders of the, i. 263.
- Hebert, M., Minister of Justice, his speech and arbitrary doctrines, i. 55.
- Hôtel-de-Ville, the Provisional Government adjourned to the, i. 125. Scene between Louis Blanc and the *ouvriers* at the, 167. And between M. M. Ledru-Rollin and

- Garnier-Pagès, 239. Attacked by the insurgents, ii. 40.
- Huber, M., his proclamation to the democrats of Paris, i. 390.
- Hugo, M. Victor, elected for the Department of the Seine, i. 454. His first appearance in the Republican Tribune, ii. 13. His ability as a speaker, 13, 14. Quotations from his speech, 14, 15. His house sacked by the insurgents, 41. His speech on the suppression of the newspapers, 132, 133.
- Instruction, Minister of Public, his circular respecting the qualifications of representatives, i. 190, 191.
- Insurrection of June 23., outbreak of the, ii. 27. Suppressed, 58. Barbarities of the insurgents, 67. 74—76. Preparations for more fighting, 88. Estimated number of the slain, 94, 95. *note*. See Barricades.
- Interment of the slain, ceremony of the, i. 169.
- Intervention, armed, division on the question of, in the Assembly, ii. 228.
- Introduction, i. xi.
- Irish College in Paris, threatened by the mob, i. 248.
- Irish gentlemen resident in Paris, their offer to protect the British Embassy, i. 113.
- Irish deputation, reception of the, at the Hôtel-de-Ville, i. 243. Conversation with M. Lamartine respecting the answer given to, 250. 273, 274. 276. The deputation and the Club of United Irishmen in Paris, 286. Copy of their address and of Lamartine's reply, 287—293. Remarks on the address, 293—296. 363, 365. The house where rebel Paddies "most do congregate," ii. 104, 128.
- Irish flag, affair of the, i. 243—245. 286.
- Italy, discussion on the affairs of, in the National Assembly, ii. 114.
- Jacobin clubs of Paris, state of the, i. 228.
- Jaqueminot, General, his order to the National Guard, i. 79.
- Joinville, the Prince de, his liberal and patriotic expostulations, i. 196. Letters from his brothers and himself to the Assembly, 417.
- Judicial body, permanence of, declared inconsistent with republican institutions, i. 330. Power given to M. Crémieux to remove or suspend judges, 330.
- Kinet, M., returned for Lyons, ii. 210.
- Lacrosse, M., appointed Minister of Marine, ii. 79. Loses the election for President of the Assembly, 120.
- Lafitte and Blount, Messrs., failure of the house of, i. 213.
- Lafontaine, General, wounded, ii. 49.
- Lagrange, M., elected one of the members for the Department of the Seine, i. 454. His remarks on the speech of M. Goodehaux, ii. 207.
- Lamartine, M. de, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, i. 94, 103. His preservation of order, 112. His conduct in the Chamber on Feb. 24., 118, 119. His speech in favour of the Regency, 119. *note*. His jealousy of M. Odilon Barrot, 121. Nominated to the Presidency of the Provisional Government, 127. Discussion on the question of the change of flag, 127. His triumph over the infuriated mob, 134. His desire for the complete development of the English alliance, 133. 137. Incident on the Boulevards, 137. Declines the Presidency, 138. Endeavours to obtain an outward demonstration of support from Great Britain, 153. His anecdote of the round table at the Tuileries, 164. *note*. His Circular Manifesto to the European Powers, 165, 171. His pacific intentions, 165, 166. His views respecting *organisation de travail*, 167. His anxiety regarding the private property of the ex-Royal Family, 168. Conversation with him on the state of the national finances, 185. His idea of raising an income-tax, 185. His mania

for *paragraphs* in the papers, 191. His defence of his Manifesto, 194. Conversation with him respecting M. Ledru-Rollin's Circular to the Commissaries, 216. His explanation, 223. His complete disclaimer of all the sentiments expressed in the Circular of M. Ledru-Rollin, 232. Plan concocted at the *Affaires Etrangères* to carry him off and shut him up in a fortress, 234. His determination not to yield to any threatening demonstration, 240. His explanation respecting the reception of the Irish deputation and the Irish flags, 243—245. Conversation with him respecting the answers given to foreign deputations, 250. 259. And respecting the dangers menacing English capital, 263—265. His answer to the Irish address, 290. His anxiety respecting the accounts from Savoy, 305. His opinion as to the authorship of the "*Bulletins de la République*," 316. His indignation at the conduct of Ledru-Rollin, 320. Conspiracy to overthrow the government, 320. 333. Failure of the plot, 325. His interview with Blanqui, 321. *note*. And with Ledru-Rollin, 322. Succeeds in obtaining the muster of the National Guard, 322, 323. His personal danger, 327. His calmness, 333. Conversation with him respecting the many objectionable decrees of the Provisional Government, 338. His confidence in the triumph of order, 340. His views regarding the future Constitution, 349. 353. His anticipated difficulties, 355. His reception by the people on his way to the National Assembly, 362. His answer to the Tipperary address, 365. Made a great hero by the English newspapers, 366. His distinguishing characteristics, 366. Reads the speech of M. Dupont de l'Eure, 367. His unexpected declaration in the National Assembly, 370. His report, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Assembly, 372. 408.

Elected a member of the Executive Council, 374. His observations respecting the rumours of war, 383. His views on the subject of Poland, 384. Ceases to be Foreign Minister, 385. Invasion of the Chamber by the people, 393. His ineffectual efforts to obtain a hearing, 393. Joins Ledru-Rollin and rides to the Hôtel-de-Ville, 399. His jealousy of Changarnier, 402. Observations on some statements in his "*Cours de Littérature*," 410—413. *note*. His unpopularity and the causes of it, 452, 453. His motion for the exile and exclusion of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, 459. Charged with having written a singular paragraph in "*La Liberté*," ii. 53. His altered appearance, 107. His opinion as to the prospects of the Republic, 108. His defence of his own policy, 194. His speech on the question of one or two Chambers, 219. His speech on the mode of presidential election, 235. Becomes a candidate for the Presidency, 274. His position with Cavaignac, 308, 309. His fate, 370. His ill-timed silence, 371. Lamoricière, General, appointed commandant of the National Guard, i. 94. Nominated Minister of War, ii. 79. Cavaignac's jealousy of him, 108, 109. His speech on the question of the "*remplacement militaire*," 256. Attacked by General Lebreton, 257. Defended by General Cavaignac, 257. La Rochejaquelein, M., his speech respecting the question of Regency, i. 121. Damage done by himself to his political importance, ii. 173. Lasteyrie, M. J. de, rescues the Count de Paris from his perilous situation, i. 124. Lebreton, General, his attack on General Lamoricière, ii. 257. Ledru-Rollin, M., nominated Minister of the Interior, i. 94. 104. Supports the proposition for a Provisional Government, 123. Observations on his Circular to the

- Commissaries or Deputies of the Republic, 216. Text of the Circular, 219. M. Lamartine's explanation respecting it, 223. M. Ledru-Rollin's character and qualifications as a leader, 228. His sentiments disclaimed by M. Lamartine, 232. Rumours of his expulsion from office, 232. Scene between him and M. Garnier-Pagès at the Hôtel-de-Ville, 239. Obtains the removal of the troops from Paris, 240. His address on the subject of the army, 243. His intention to establish a Reign of Terror, 247. Tone of his second Circular, 302. Extracts from it, 303. "Bulletins de la République," 316. His jealousy of M. Lamartine's popularity, 319. Takes part in a conspiracy against the government, 320. His interview with Lamartine, 322. Failure of his courage, 322. His schism with M. Marrast, and its probable effect on the elections, 339. His feigned resignation, 344. His conduct respecting the Tipperary address, 363. Elected a member of the Executive Council, 374. Joins the conspiracy to overthrow the new government, 388. His ineffectual attempts to obtain a hearing in the Chamber, when invaded by the mob, 397. Joins Lamartine, and proceeds to the Hôtel-de-Ville, 399. His threatened resignation, 420. Charged with having organised the expedition to Belgium, ii. 136, 140. His denunciation of the injustice with which he considered himself treated, 141. Charges brought against him on the discussion on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, 174—176. His defence, 177. His speech at the Châlet, 217. And on the question of armed intervention, 229. His attacks on General Cavaignac, 251. Becomes a candidate for the Presidency, 274. His speech on the affairs of Rome, 337.
- Legitimists, dangers to be apprehended from them, i. 170. Their attitude and strength, ii. 154.
- Their unwillingness to vote for Louis Napoleon, 298.
- Legoussée, M., the Questeur, and M. Wolowski, i. 392.
- Leonard, M., and the Irish flag, i. 243, 286.
- Leroux, M. Pierre, takes part in a conspiracy against the government, i. 388. Elected one of the members for the Department of the Seine, 454. His rhapsody on Socialism, ii. 2.
- Lestrade, M., appointed Commissaire at Bordeaux, i. 260. Compelled by the mob to fly for safety, 260.
- L'Herbette, M. de, his speech on the charges of corruption countenanced by M. Guizot, i. 45. His remark on the Bonaparte family, 45.
- Liberal party in France, its delicate position at the beginning of 1848, i. 63.
- Liberty, trees of, i. 275, 279.
- Ligne, the Prince de, his account of the disturbances in his *quartier*, i. 88. His fears of an attack on his hotel, 237. His demand for protection, and Lamartine's answer, 237. Conversation with him respecting the Belgian democrats, 269. Presents his credentials to the French Republican Government, 433.
- "L'imprevu," influence of, ii. 158.
- Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, Prince, his election, i. 454, 455. Sensation caused by the event, 455, 456. His popularity with the lower classes, 456. M. Lamartine's motion for the exile and exclusion of Louis Napoleon from the Assembly, 459. Causes of the excitement in favour of his name, 460. Decree for his arrest, 461. Fear of the Republic of his name, 465. His admission voted by a large majority, 469. The army supposed to be infected with Napoleonism, 474. His letter to the Assembly, 475. Agitation with which it was received, 476. His rejection of office, 479. His popularity with the bourgeoisie, 480, 481. Elected for Corsica, ii. 121. Again declines office, 121.

- His prospects, 179. Nominated as President of the 2d. of Paris, 180. Vainly opposed by the "National," 180. Different interpretations put upon his nomination, 180. His first appearance in the Assembly, 181. His first speech, 181. Amendment in the Assembly to exclude members of any previous reigning family from the office of President, 182. His speech, 182. The amendment withdrawn, 182. Unsettling remark of M. Anthony Thiers, 242. Louis Napoleon's self-possession and *sang froid*, 242. Attacked in the House by M. Clément Thomas, 266. Becomes a candidate for the Presidency, 266. His election probable, 270. His advances to the moderate party, 273. Movement in the provinces in his favour, 283. His position with the moderate party, 295, 296. Certainty of his return, 305, 359, 362. Causes of the popularity of his name, 361. His projected Cabinet, 364, 369. Absence of leading names in the list, 362. His installation as President of the French Republic, 374. Charges M. Odilon Barrot with the formation of a new Cabinet, 374. His deportment, 375, 377. Anecdote of his escape from Ham, 379, 380.
- Louis Philippe, King of the French, his estimation of the English Alliance, i. 9. The Spanish marriages, 9, 13. His relations with his ministers, 12. Charged with insincerity, 17. His illness, 21. Effect of his speech at the opening of the session of 1847-48, 26, 28, 64. Death of his sister, the Princess Adelaide, 30. His indiscreet language, 57. Disturbances in the streets, 82. Dismisses his ministers, 86. Sends for Count Molé, 87, 156. Commencement of the street fights, 92. Every unpopular act attributed to him, 92. Abdicates in favour of the Count de Paris, 93. Leaves Paris, 93, 95. Details of the signing of the act of abdication, 99. His presence at the Place Louis XV., 109. Details of his flight, and escape to England, 109, 180. Review of his conduct during the last few days of his reign, 149, 156-160. Lamartine's anxiety as to the fate of the King and the property of the Royal Family, 168. The King's want of personal dignity, 182. Testimony to his personal kindness, 183. Feeling of universal distrust entertained towards him throughout France, ii. 156. Causes of his fall, 283.
- Lyons, conduct of M. Etienne Arago in, i. 261, 287, 304. Incursion from, into Savoy, 305. Favourable news from, 314.
- McSweeney, Dr., his explanation of the conduct of the Irish College in Paris, i. 248.
- Magistrates, power given to M. Crémieux to remove or suspend, i. 380.
- Malleville, M. Léon de, his re-election as Vice-President of the Chamber opposed by the government, i. 23.
- Malo, St., resistance to the embarkation of cattle in English vessels, i. 255.
- Manifesto, the Circular, of M. Lamartine to the European Powers, i. 165, 171.
- Marceau, Faubourg St., barricades at the, ii. 34.
- Marie, M., nominated Minister of Public Works, i. 94, 104. Proposes in the Chamber a Provisional Government, 120. Elected member of the Executive Council, 374. His threat of resignation, 420. Elected President of the National Assembly, ii. 78. Transferred to the Administration as Minister of Justice, 119. His vindication of the right to suppress the newspapers, 131. His position at the end of the year, 384.
- Marie Amelia, the Queen, her advice to the King, i. 100. *note*.
- Marrast, M. Armand, editor of the "National," his connection with the Communists, i. 18. Ap-

- pointed Secretary to the Provisional Government, 102. His address to the excited legions of the National Guard, 235. His danger at the Hôtel-de-Ville, 333. His talent as a periodical writer, 333. *note*. His quarrel with Ledru-Rollin, and its probable effect on the elections, 339. Violent anti-English views of the "National," 342. Its articles on "social reforms," 358. His nomination as candidate for the representation of the Department of the Seine, 452. Attributes the insurrection of June to foreign gold, ii. 36. Dread of the Assembly of the dynasty of the "National," 64. Proposal for sending him as ambassador to England, 115. Elected President of the National Assembly, 119. His inaugural speech, 120. Saves Paris from the consequences of a conspiracy, 149. Articles in the "National" on the constitution and social condition of England, 149. Reasons for his non-attendance at the dinner at the British Embassy, 202. His answer to the letter of the Papal Nuncio, 347. His position at the end of the year, 385.
- Marseilles, attempted rising at, suppressed, ii. 61.
- Martin, the child-hero of the barricades, his death, 83.
- Meagher, T., his part in the Irish deputation, i. 273. 277.
- Meeting, public, right of, taken away, ii. 65.
- Ministers of Louis Philippe, their insincerity and incapacity, i. 11. Their relations with the King, 12. Characters of MM. Guizot and Duchâtel, 13. Line taken by them respecting the demand for reform, 35. The First Minister charged with participation in corrupt practices, 38. Decline of the influence of the ministry, 53. Arbitrary doctrines of M. Hebert, 55. Act of accusation or impeachment of ministers presented to the Chamber of Deputies, 83. The Guizot Ministry dismissed, 86. Count Molé sent for, 87.
- The impeachment adjourned, 88. Enthusiasm of the people, 90. Escape of the ministers from the Home Office, 95.
- Mob, power of the, and its consciousness of its own strength, i. 242. The only physical force left, 243. Mob processions and trees of Liberty, 275.
- Molé, Count, sent for by Louis Philippe, i. 87. 90. Details of his conversation with the King, 156. Encouraged by M. Lamartine to offer himself for election in his Department, 218. Testimony to his patriotic devotion, 218. 284. Description of his *salon*, 282. His sad experience of the first Revolution, 284. His speech on the possibility of an aristocracy in France, 311. Becomes a candidate for the representation of Bordeaux, ii. 84. Returned, 210. His reception in the Assembly, 213. His influence throughout the country, 253. His opinion of the state of affairs, 253. Determines to give his vote to Louis Napoleon, 279. And also to offer him his advice, 364.
- Money, scarcity of, i. 145. Coining of private plate, 146.
- Montalembert, M. de, his danger in the Assembly when invaded by the mob, i. 398. His first great speech on the state of the country, ii. 33. His speech on the state of Rome, 336.
- Montalembert, Madame de, her presence in the Assembly, i. 398.
- Montalivet, Count, his advice to the King, i. 151. Sent to Count Molé, 158. Endeavours to obtain an advance of funds for the ex-Royal Family, 191.
- Montigny, Madame, her kindness to the wounded at the Gymnase, ii. 12.
- Montpellier, disturbances at, ii. 189.
- Montpensier, Duc de, advises the King to abdicate, i. 100.
- Montpensier, Duchesse de, details of her flight, i. 107. 109. 161.
- Moreau, M., elected for Paris, i. 454.
- Morny, the Comte de, assists in

- conducting the negotiations with the Committee of the Reform Banquet, i. 147.
- Municipal Guard, the, disbanded, i. 93. 104.
- "National" newspaper. *See* Marrast, M. Armand.
- National Assembly. *See* Assembly, National.
- National Guards, danger apprehended by M. Guizot of assembling the, i. 54. 70. Excitement and dissatisfaction of the, 57. Their known hostility to the government, 74. General Jaqueminot's order to them, 79. Refusal of the second and third Legions to act, 85, 86. Their demand of a change of ministry, 86. Their disgust at the distrust exhibited by government, 89. Assemble at their posts and keep order, "such as it is," 97, 98. Extort the act of abdication from the King, 99. The city placed under their care, 104. Colonel le Courtois appointed commandant, 104. Their preservation of the Elysée Bourbon from destruction, 111, 112. Their offer to protect the British Embassy, 113. Dissolution of the flank companies and their protests, 229, 233. Observations on the demonstration at the Hôtel-de-Ville, 234. General Courtois ill-treated, 236. Angry feeling existing between the people and the National Guard, 240. Disorganisation amongst them, 243. Endeavours of M. Lamartine to obtain the muster of them, 322. Their outcry against Ledru-Rollin and his party, 326. Review of them, 335. Proposed decree for the mobilization of 300,000 National Guards, ii. 3. Defection of the 12th Legion, 34. And of the 8th, 41. Its gallantry against the insurgents of June, 89. Obsequies of those who fell in the streets, 91.
- National Loan, the proposed, i. 214.
- Navy, manifesto of M. Arago to the, i. 128. Admiral Baudin takes the command of the Mediterranean fleet, 128.
- Négrier, General, his refusal to assist the Belgian democrats, i. 285. Entrusted with the command of the troops, 369.
- Négrier, Colonel (brother of the last), nominated for the representation of Lille, ii. 210.
- Nemours, Due de, his prudent counsels, i. 76. His renunciation of power in favour of the Duchesse d'Orleans, 118.
- Neuilly, palace of, burnt by the mob, i. 111.
- Newspapers, suppression of several, ii. 60. Discussion in the Assembly respecting the newspapers, 151. The prohibition removed, 151, 152.
- Nobility, all titles of, abolished by the Provisional Government, i. 152.
- Normanby, the Marchioness of, i. 138.; ii. 55, 56. 73. 243. 247. 249. 294.
- Normanby, the Marquis of, his conversations and communications with M.M. Lamartine and Bastide. *See* Lamartine; Bastide. And with General Cavaignac. *See* Cavaignac. Presented to General Cavaignac, ii. 67. Sends an appeal to M. Goodchaux respecting English depositors in the Savings' Banks, 116. Accredited with a "mission spéciale" to the French Republic, 161. His dinner to Cavaignac and the corps diplomatique, 201. His conversation with M. Thiers, 247. And with Odilon Barrot, 249.
- O'Brien, Mr. Smith, his part in the Irish deputation, i. 273. His interview with Lamartine, 276. His assumed superiority over his companions, 277. Receives and answers an address from the United Irishmen in Paris, 286. Presents an address to the Provisional Government, 287. His dejection, 300.
- O'Connell, Mr. John, his offer to assist in protecting the British Embassy, i. 113.

- Odier, M., his correspondence with M. Dufaure, ii. 313.
- Orleans, Duc d', souvenirs of him, in the Tuileries, i. 210.
- Orleans, the Duchesse d', her prudent counsels to the King, i. 76. Appointed Regent by the King's act of abdication, 93. 100. Fails to produce a favourable effect in the Chamber, 117. Hurried away, 124.
- Orleans and Bordeaux Railway, alarm of the directors of, i. 262.
- Orleans family, intentions of the government respecting the private property of the, i. 406. Proscription of the, 421. Prospects of the, ii. 157. Decree for the restoration of its private property passed, 264.
- Oudinot, General, his speech in favour of a Regency, i. 118.
- Paris, Count de, abdication of Louis Philippe in his favour, i. 93. 100. Unsuccessful issue of his claim, 117. Saved by M. J. de Lasteyrie, 124.
- Peel, Sir Robert, his reforms alluded to, and discussed with M. Guizot, i. 66.
- Peers, chamber of, its conduct on the King's speech, i. 34.
- Pius IX., assaulted in the Quirinal, ii. 325. Names a new ministry, 325. Applies to the French government for protection, 327. 344. His flight from Rome, 345. Takes refuge at Gaeta, 348. His letter to Cavaignac, 349.
- Poland, feeling in France respecting the restored nationality of, i. 271. M. Wolowski's "interpellation" on the subject of, i. 391.
- Poles, deputation of, to the Hôtel-de-Ville, i. 271. Their immense numbers in France, 273. Lamartine's answer to them, 273. Demonstration of the masses in their favour, 381.
- Police, Prefecture of, placed under the care of the Mayor of Paris, i. 104.
- Politics, gloomy appearance of, in March, i. 227.
- Pologne, la Petite, its aspect, ii. 33. Its anxiety to join the insurrection, 43.
- President of the Republic, mode of electing the, determined, ii. 223. 226, 227. Discussions in the Assembly on various modes of election, 233. Time of election fixed, 267. The two candidates, 268. M. Dufaure's address to the prefects on the subject of the election, 276. Its probable result, 359. Official return of the result, 381.
- Press, condition of the, in 1847, i. 16. Suppression of several newspapers, ii. 60. 102. Decree for the restriction of the press, 105. Discussions in the Assembly respecting the newspapers, 131. The sequestration removed, 151.
- "Presse, La," stopped, ii. 60. See Girardin, M. Emile.
- Proudhon, M., takes part in a conspiracy against the government, i. 388. Elected one of the members for the Department of the Seine, 454. His proposition in the Assembly, ii. 129. His motion stigmatised by an "ordre du jour motivé," 129. Remarks on Louis Blanc's opposition to Proudhon's project, 147.
- Provinces, state of the, at the beginning of 1848, i. 54. Attitude of the, under the Provisional Government, 261.
- Provisional Government, established, i. 94. List of the members of the government, 94. 103, 104. Voted by only about twenty deputies, 96. Copy of its first two acts and ordinances, 101. Its anxiety to know what course Great Britain would take, 104. The government adjourned to the Hôtel-de-Ville, 125. Their judicious measures, 151. How the original government of seven had become eleven, 223, 224. *note*. Schism in the, 227. Exhibition of its impotence, 242. Impropriety of its answers to foreign deputations, 259. Uneasiness of Lamartine as to the stability of the government, 274. Its box at the Théâtre

- Français, 281. Its unpopular decree of April 6., 299. Disunion amongst the members, 319. Conspiracy to overthrow it, 320. Failure of the plot, 325. Decrees and proclamation, 329. Conversation with Lamartine respecting its many objectionable decrees, 338. Its reception by the National Assembly, 360.
- Rachel, Madlle., manner in which she sang the "Marseillaise," i. 282.
- Raspail, M., in the conspiracy against the government, i. 388. Sent to Vincennes, ii. 208. Nominated for Lyons, 208. Unsuccessful, 210.
- Reason, Goddess of, duplicate copies of the, i. 169.
- "Récompenses nationales. les," discussion in the Assembly respecting, ii. 350. Withdrawal of the proposed decree, 351.
- Récourt, M., appointed assistant to the Mayor of Paris, i. 104. His explanation of the motives of the decree for the mobilization of the National Guard, ii. 3. Nominated Minister of Public Works, 79. Superseded by M. Vivien, 245. Appointed Préfet de la Seine, 290. His false position, 291.
- Reform, progress made in the cause of, at the end of 1847, i. 26. Conduct of the French government on the demand for, 35. Declaration of M. Guizot respecting, 51. His refusal of all prospective engagements as to, 55. Remarks on the peculiar nature of the required Reform, 61. Discussion with M. Guizot on Sir Robert Peel's reforms, 66.
- Reform Banquets, sensation caused by them, i. 24. Declaration of government for preventing all Reform Banquets, 55. 57. Force assembled for the purpose, 69. Announced to be held in the Champs Elysées, 68. Postponed, 71. Precautions taken by the leaders of the movement, 77.
- Meeting of the subscribers at M. Odilon Barrot's, 80. Resolution adopted to give up the Banquet, 80. Manifesto of the General Committee, 78. 81. Details of the negotiation between the government of Louis Philippe and the Reform Banquet committee, 147.
- "Remplacement militaire," discussion in the Assembly on the question of the, ii. 256.
- Remusat, M., his speech against the government of M. Guizot alluded to, i. 60. Appointed to a place in the ministry, 92.
- Renaud, M., his proposed proclamation, i. 403.
- Retrospect of the year, ii. 382.
- Roger du Nord, M., his narrow escape, ii. 27. Returned for the Department of the Seine, 210.
- Rome, insurrection at, ii. 305. 324. The projected expedition to, 331.
- Rossi, M., President of the Council at Rome, his assassination, ii. 305. 324.
- Rothschild, Baron Saloman de, his villa of Suresnes destroyed by the mob, i. 111.
- Rouen, case of the English workmen at, i. 230. Desperate commercial prospects at, 231. Disturbances at, 350.
- Round Table at the Tuileries, i. 164. *note*.
- Rush, Mr., the American Minister, his line of conduct respecting the Provisional Government, i. 130.
- Russia accused of an intended alliance with England to sacrifice France, ii. 53.
- "Salle des Pas Perdus," rumours of the, i. 22. Attempt in the, to assassinate M. Bastide, ii. 244.
- Salt, decree abolishing the duty on, i. 329.
- Sand, Madame Georges, supposed to be one of the authors of the "Bulletins de la République," i. 316.
- Sardinia, inviolability of, assured by Lamartine, i. 403.

- Sauzet, M., President of the Chamber, his conduct on Feb. 24., i. 118. His disappearance from the Presidential Chair, 123.
- Savings' Banks, large sums withdrawn from those in Paris, i. 19. Refusal of the Minister of Finance to pay the deposits of English subscribers, ii. 18. Letter from the Marquis of Normanby respecting, 19—26.
- Savoy, attempt to revolutionise, i. 298. The Savoyards ejected from their employments in Paris, 298. Proclamation of a republic in, 304. Invasion of Savoy, 306. Rumours of war with, 383.
- Sebastiani, Marshal, his opinion of the Guizot Ministry as expressed to the King, i. 150. The King's answer, 151.
- Secret-service money voted by the Assembly, ii. 251.
- Sections, the, their organisation for a day of disturbance, i. 474.
- Senard, M., appointed Minister of the Interior, ii. 79. Superseded by M. Dufaure, 245. His statement of the causes of his retirement, 251. His neglect of his duty, 353.
- Shee, Count D'Alton, visits from, i. 105, 106, 114.
- Siege, state of, proclaimed, ii. 35. Decided to be maintained, 189. Commission appointed to consider the question of the continuance of the state of siege, 246. Its termination decided on, 255.
- Sobrier, M., one of the leaders of the mob, language held by him towards the Provisional Government, i. 242.
- Socialism, M. Pierre Leroux's rhapsody on, ii. 2. The doctrine thoroughly exposed, 65. Split between the Mountain and the Socialists, 299.
- Soult, Marshal, his resignation, i. 14.
- Spanish marriages, effect of, on the relations between France and England, i. 9. Stigmatised in the Chamber as selfish and anti-national, 62. M. Lamartine's opinion of the, 134.
- Strasbourg, fury of the population of, against the corps of Germans returning from Paris, i. 315.
- Suffrage, universal, operation of, in France, i. 188, 189.
- Suresnes, villa of, burnt by the mob, i. 111.
- Taxation, decree of the Provisional Government respecting, i. 152. Abolition of the municipal tax on meat coming into Paris, 330. Imposition of a duty on horses, carriages, &c., 330. Disturbances in the provinces respecting, ii. 1, 2. Project of law for taxing money lent, carried, but afterwards withdrawn, 138.
- Théâtre Français, scene at the, i. 281.
- Théâtre Gymnase, alarm during the performance at the, ii. 11. Used as an "ambulance" for the wounded, 12. a.
- Thierry, General, assists the Duchesse de Montpensier in her flight, i. 161.
- Thiers, M., his speech against M. Guizot alluded to, i. 49, 60. His popularity, 90. Called on to form a ministry, 92, 158. Gives in his adhesion to the Provisional Government, 128. Nominated a candidate for the Department of the Seine, 448. Elected, 454. Votes with the government respecting the monthly funds demanded by the Executive Council, 469. His début in the National Assembly, ii. 124. His speech, 125. His definition of his political position, 204. Conversation with him, 247. His opinion of the state of the nation, 248. His speech on the question of the "remplacement militaire," 256. His eulogium on the composition and character of the English army, 258. Determines to vote for Louis Napoleon, 280. His answer to M. Guinand, 355. Gives his advice to Louis Napoleon, 364.

- Thomas, M. Clément, his appointment to the command of the National Guard, i. 451. His offensive behaviour, 451. His conduct on June 13., 460, 461. Wounded at the barricades, ii. 29. 44. His attack on Louis Napoleon, 206.
- Thomas, M. Emile, seizure of, i. 415, 416. 428, 429. Discussion of the matter in the Assembly, 429. 445. 472. Vote of the Assembly for a Commission to inquire into the cause of his arrest, 474.
- Thouret, M. Anthony, his amendment excluding all members of previous reigning families from the office of President, ii. 239. Withdraws it, 240. His discourteous remarks upon Louis Napoleon's address, 241. Renews his amendment, 278.
- Throne, Louis Philippe's, carried away by the mob from the Tuileries, i. 96.
- Tipperary address, the, i. 363. 365.
- Titles abolished, i. 152. The decree smuggled into the papers, 191.
- Tocqueville, M. de, his speech against M. Guizot alluded to, i. 48. His refusal to take office for the present, ii. 230. His explanation why, 292.
- Trade, Free, care required in obtruding it prematurely on the attention of the Republic, i. 160. Unpopular in France, 160.
- "Travailleurs, La Fraternisation des," the banquet of, forbidden, ii. 12, 13.
- Treaties of 1815, feeling of Frenchmen relative to the, i. 165.
- Trelat, M., Minister of Public Works, orders the seizure of M. Emile Thomas, i. 415, 416. 428, 429. His antecedents, 471. His demand of three millions for the Ateliers Nationaux, 472. His reply to the speech of the Vicomte de Falloux, 472, 473. Renewal of the fight between them in the Assembly, ii. 8. Speech of Louis Blanc in the Assembly, 179. Report of M. Trelat, 181.
- Tribunes, public, their activity and noise in the National Assembly, i. 361.
- Troops; conflict of the 14th regiment with the people, i. 91. Their sympathies suspected, 92. Withdrawn from Paris, 92. Reasons of the ministers for this step, 99. Complete demoralisation of the troops, 99. 144. 176—178. Remarks on the withdrawal of the troops, 175. Disatisfaction of the army at their being omitted from the franchise, 196. 337. Removed from Paris at the demand of M. Ledru-Rollin, 240. Disorganised state of the army, 304. Review of April 20., 335. Decree for the permanent recall of the army into Paris, 337. Command of the troops entrusted to General Négrier, 389. The army supposed to be infected with Napoleonism, 474. Failure of their attempts to take some of the barricades, ii. 29. Their suppression of the insurrection, 57. Treachery of the insurgents at the Faubourg St. Antoine, 57. Obsequies of the troops who fell in the streets, 91. Troops despatched to Civita Vecchia, 328.
- Tuileries, the, in the possession of the mob, i. 206. Destruction of portraits in the, 207. Souvenirs of the Duke of Orleans in the, 210. The insurgents of June confined in the, ii. 68.
- Turnbull, M., his account of the resistance shown to the embarkation of cattle in English vessels, i. 255.
- Vaulabelle, M., appointed Minister of Public Instruction, ii. 98. Superseded by M. Flandrin, 245.
- Vignière, François de la, the Garde Mobile, anecdote of, ii. 73.
- Vincennes, Fort of, surrendered to the people, i. 101.
- Vitet, M., assists in the negotiations with the Committee of the Reform Banquet, i. 147.
- Vivien, M., appointed Minister of Public Works, ii. 245.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| War, rumours of, with Savoy, i. | } | on the subject of Poland, i. |
| 383. Probable effect of foreign, | | 391. His political opinions, 392. |
| on the duration of the Republic, | | Turned out of the tribune by one |
| 199. | | of the Questeurs, 392. |
| Wolowski, M., his "interpellation" | | |

THE END.

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Hoskyns's Malpas	10
Loudon's Agriculture	12
Low's Elements of Agriculture	13

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" Commonplace-Book	11
König's Pictorial Life of Luther	8
Loudon's Rural Architecture	13
MacDougall's Theory of War	13
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Moseley's Engineering	16
Piesse's Art of Perfumery	17
Richardson's Art of Horsemanship	18
Scrivenor on the Iron Trade	19
Stark's Printing	22
Steam-Engine, by the Artisan Club	4
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Biography.

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Buckingham's (J. S.) Memoirs	5
Bunsen's Hippolytus	6
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Crosse's (Andrew) Memorials	6
Forster's De Foe and Churchill	22
Green's Princesses of England	8
Harford's Life of Michael Angelo	8
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Holcroft's Memoirs	22
Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia	12
Mauder's Biographical Treasury	14
Memoir of the Duke of Wellington	22
Memoirs of James Montgomery	16
Merville's Memoirs of Cicero	16
Mountain's (Col.) Memoirs	16
Perry's (Admiral) Memoirs	17
Rogers's Life and Genius of Fuller	22
Russell's Memoirs of Moore	15
Southey's Life of Wesley	20
" Life and Correspondence	20
" Select Correspondence	20
Stephen's Ecclesiastical Biography	20
Strickland's Queens of England	21
Sydney Smith's Memoirs	20
Symond's (Admiral) Memoirs	21
Taylor's Loyola	21
" Wesley	21
Waterton's Autobiography & Essays	24

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Kesteven's Domestic Medicine	11
Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia	12
Loudon's Lady's Country Companion	13
Mauder's Treasury of Knowledge	14
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Mauder's Scientific Treasury	14
" Treasury of History	14
" Natural History	14
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Pocket and the Stud	8
Pycroft's English Reading	17
Reece's Medical Guide	18
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Richardson's Art of Horsemanship	18
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Rogert's English Thesaurus	18
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Short Whist	19
Thomson's Interest Tables	21
Webster's Domestic Economy	24
West on Children's Diseases	24
Willich's Popular Tables	24
Willmot's Blackstone	24

Botany and Gardening.

Hassall's British Freshwater Algae	9
Hooker's British Flora	9
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" Kew Museum	9
Lindley's Introduction to Botany	11
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Loudon's Hortus Britannicus	13
" Amateur Gardener	13
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" Gardening	12
" Plants	12
" Self-Instruction for Gardeners, &c.	13
Pereira's Materia Medica	17
Rivers's Rose-Amateur's Guide	18
Wilson's British Mosses	24

Chronology.

Blair's Chronological Tables	4
Brewer's Historical Atlas	4
Bunsen's Ancient Egypt	5
Calendars of English State Papers	5
Haydn's Dictionary Index	9
Jaquet's Chronology	11
Nicolas's Chronology of History	12

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Gilbart's Treatise on Banking	8
Lorimer's Young Master Mariner	12
Macleod's Banking	13
McCulloch's Commerce & Navigation	14
Scrivenor on Iron Trade	19
Thomson's Interest Tables	21
Tooke's History of Prices	21

Criticism, History, and Memoirs.

Blair's Chron. and Histor. Tables	4
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Bunsen's Ancient Egypt	5
" Hippolytus	6
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